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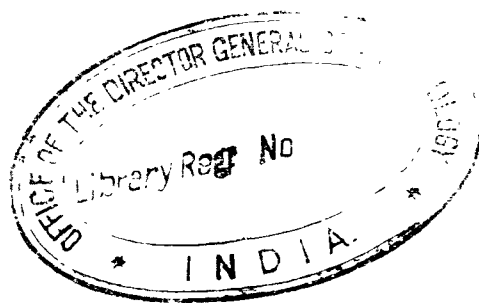
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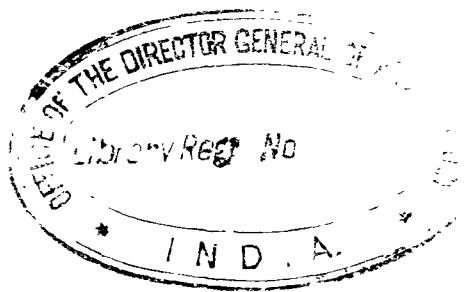








THE JOURNAL  
OF  
HELLENIC STUDIES



2.

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

# THE JOURNAL

OF

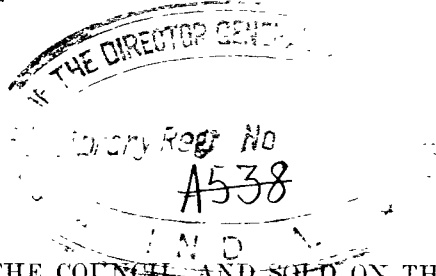
# HELLENIC STUDIES

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J. H. S.

VOLUME X.



PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

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# RULES

OF THE

## Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

## RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

---

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

---

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 The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, *rue d'Ulm*).  
 The Numismatic Chronicle.  
 The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyrna*.  
 The Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.  
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OCTOBER 1889.

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## THE SESSION OF 1888-89.

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**The First General Meeting** was held on *October 22*, 1888, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

The HON. SECRETARY read parts of a paper by Professor J. H. Middleton on 'The Temple of Apollo at Delphi' (*Journal*, Vol. IX. p. 282) summing up the literary evidence in view of the contemplated excavations.

SIR GEORGE BOWEN bore testimony to the accuracy of the description of existing remains on the site, and touched on other points of interest in connexion with Delphi.

MR. PENROSE pointed out that recent discoveries on the Acropolis at Athens had established the fact that the older Parthenon was not built of marble, except the metopes and the pediment sculptures, but of limestone covered with stucco. Very early instances moreover had occurred of Ionic capitals which would probably modify Prof. Middleton's opinion as to the date of their introduction.

MR. PERCIVAL confirmed Prof. Middleton's account of the hardness and beauty of the stucco at Delphi.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD fully concurred in the writer's view that the literary evidences should be collected and sifted before excavation was begun. A remarkable illustration of this had been afforded in the case of Ephesus, where the search had been carried on in the wrong places long after literary evidence had shown where the temple ought to be looked for. Much of the paper was conjectural, and it seemed to Mr. Lloyd that at the present stage in our knowledge of the temple sculpture was of more importance than architecture. The association at Delphi of the two cults of Bacchus and Apollo was supported by abundant literary evidence and also indicated on vases, while confirmed by Pausanias' account of the sculptures. The prosperity of Delphi was largely due to the dexterity of the priests in combining the various cults. That of Bacchus came in late,

but soon became fashionable and so had to be admitted. The same thing occurred at Eleusis and elsewhere. Only five subjects on the metopes could be made out from the description of Pausanias. Probably here as at Bassae only those over the pronaos were sculptured and the rest plain. This would give six sculptured metopes and one might have been accidentally omitted. The date of these sculptures also was of great interest. The temple was finished about 490 B.C. but the metopes might have been added later. The architect was a Corinthian.

MR. FARNELL referred to various questions which excavation might be expected to solve. (1) Geographical, as to the site of the Pythian games. How could chariot races have been run in a mountain fastness? The plain of Actia was the only possible place for these. (2) Historical. There was a difference of opinion between Mommsen and certain French writers as to whether the Gauls ever sacked Delphi. According to Strabo and Pausanias the contrary was the case. The later myth was mentioned in Trogon Pompeius. The belief in the Greek world was that the Gauls had suffered a serious reverse. If they had taken the treasure it was not likely that a handful of barbarians could have taken it back to their native land. Lenormant found what he thought evidence of the Gaulish sack of Delphi in a small relief work on the interior of a Capuan vase, on which a Gaul armed with a sword pointed to the Delphic tripod while the body of a dead Greek lay below. But this only proved an attack, not a victory. Excavation might reveal some further evidence of the attack in the way of inscriptions or sculpture, and perhaps explain whether the Belvidere and Stroganoff Apollos, and others of the same type, really referred to repulse of the Gauls by Apollo. (3) The cult of Athene Pronaia at Delphi was confused with that of Athene Pronoia. At Athens Athene Pronoia was worshipped, but at Delphi the name was given as Pronaia. The worship of Pronoia was later and arose according to Diodorus Siculus out of the belief that the barbarians were driven back *Ἀθῆνας προνοία*. The geographical relation between the shrines of Athene Pronaia and of Apollo was very important.

The CHAIRMAN said that the discussion showed the immense range of interesting collateral points arising directly from the great centre of Greek religion.

A vote of thanks was passed to Professor Middleton for his valuable paper.

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**The Second General Meeting** was held on *February 25, 1889*, MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Vice-President, in the chair.

MISS J. E. HARRISON read a paper on Some Fragments of Greek Vase Paintings, (*Journal*, Vol. X. p. 231).

After apologizing for the scattered nature of most of the evidence she had to bring before the meeting, she showed a drawing of a red-figured vase in the possession of Miss Tricoupi at Athens, which represented the wrestling of Heracles and Antæus, and the exploit of Theseus and Skiron, and had also especial claim to attention from the fact that it made the fifth known instance of a vase bearing the 'love name' Athenodotos in connexion with the Theseus scene. Miss Harrison commented on the De Luynes fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which she was about to publish in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Next in order came a series of fragments recently discovered on the Acropolis, and first in interest were the fragments of a beautiful vase with a white ground, presumably from the hand of Euphronios. The fragments represent the myth of Orpheus and the Thracian women, and gave rise to a good deal of discussion. With reference to an early black-figured fragment depicting Aphrodite with a child on her elbow, Miss Harrison rejected the interpretation that the child was Eros, and maintained that Aphrodite was represented here in the more general aspect of Kourotrophos. Relying mainly on three passages in Pausanias (vi. 20, viii. 21, 3, and ix. 27, 2), she dwelt on the close analogies between Aphrodite Urania, the eldest of the Fates, and Ilithyia, and deprecated in the study of early local divinities that specialization of attributes which was characteristic only of the Olympian system which later became dominant. The last fragment commented on was the figure of a maiden bearing in her hand two problematic objects, possibly the *cheniskoi* of two captured ships.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. WATKISS LLOYD dwelt upon the connexion between Thrace and Greek poetry and music as expressed in the myth of Orpheus, and also upon the religious bearing of the same association.

MR. CECIL SMITH referred to three main schemes of the Orpheus legend which were treated on Greek vases, and also, in connexion with a curious representation of a stag on the shoulder of one of the Thracian women on the vase under discussion, mentioned other instances of such marks in the case of Thracian subjects, clearly pointing to the custom of tattooing. As to the so-called 'love names,' Mr. Smith was inclined to think with Studniczka that they were rather names of well-known public characters, and that through them much light might yet be thrown upon the date of Greek vases.

PROFESSOR GARDNER commented upon the peculiar character of the Orpheus vase under discussion, and congratulated the Society upon being the first to publish an adequate representation of one of this rare class of vases with white ground. It seemed probable that these vases, with their nobility of design, more than any others gave us some idea of the work of the great Greek painters.

MR. HOWORTH raised certain objections to the proposed restoration of the vase, and further took the opportunity of protesting against the permission to excavate at Idalium having been granted to the Germans by the High Commissioner of Cyprus.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee of the Cyprus Exploration Fund would at once inquire into the matter.

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**The Third General Meeting** was held on *April* 29, 1889, MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. A. S. MURRAY read two papers. In the first he explained how from a number of fragments discovered under the foundation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus—the temple built in the time of Alexander the Great—he had been able to reconstruct a column and part of the cornice of the older temple which had been destroyed by fire. (*Journal*, Vol. X. p. 1.) In his second paper Mr. Murray described a series of five Etruscan paintings on slabs of terra-cotta, which had been found at Caere in 1874, and had been quite recently acquired by the British Museum. These paintings he assigned to a date about 600 B.C., tracing in them a combined influence of Corinth, of the Greeks settled in the Delta of Egypt in the seventh century B.C., of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and ultimately an influence reaching westward from Asia Minor (*Journal*, X. p. 243).

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**The Annual Meeting** was held on *June* 24, 1889, Professor JERR, Vice-President, in the chair.

The HON. SECRETARY read the following report on the part of the Council.

WITH the close of the present Session the Society completes its first decade, the inaugural meeting having been held on June 19, 1879. It is a

point at which it seems legitimate to look back over the ground traversed so far, and to form some estimate of the work accomplished. Of the three objects which the Society has from the outset professed to keep in view, the first—"to advance the study of Greek language, literature and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically"—has been effectively carried out. Both for its subject-matter and its illustrations the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* has taken an honourable place among archaeological periodicals, in the estimation not only of English but of foreign scholars. Sir Charles Newton, who presided at the inaugural meeting, wisely warned members of the danger of such a Journal beginning on too large a scale and then dwindling into insignificance. But this danger has so far been avoided. Year after year there has been an unfailing supply of good articles, and it is noticeable that although classical and archaeological topics naturally preponderate, there has been a very fair proportion of papers dealing with the history, language, and literature of "the Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic periods." The Society is under deep obligations to the Editorial Committee, and especially to Professor Percy Gardner, the working Editor, for the attainment of this first object of its existence.

The second object—"the collection of drawings, fac-similes, transcripts, plans, and photographs, of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains"—has not been lost sight of, but, perhaps in the nature of things, has as yet led to less tangible results. The drawings of monuments made in the course of Professor Ramsay's explorations in Asia Minor, a published photographic fac-simile of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles, and the enlarged reproductions of Mr. Stillman's admirable photographs of Athens, are the achievements most worthy of record under this head. The Council are fully conscious, however, of the importance of this line of work, and will lose no opportunity of pursuing it. Indeed, a scheme for supplying to members at cost price copies of two large series of photographs taken recently in Greece and the Greek islands by members of the Society is at this moment engaging the attention of the Library Committee, and may lead to important developments in the same direction.

The third and last object named in the Rules of the Society is—"to organize means by which members may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which at any time have been the sites of Hellenic civilization." Apart from the advantages which members of the Society may have enjoyed in virtue of their membership, in travelling through Greek lands, three important enterprises may be mentioned under this head, in which the Society has taken either the initiative or an active part. These are the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, the British School at Athens, and the Cyprus Explora-



tion Fund. It was in 1881 that Mr. W. M. Ramsay, whose explorations in Asia Minor have since gained him a world-wide reputation, first applied to the Society for aid in his intended expedition into Phrygia. A special fund was raised for the purpose of sending out an artist to accompany him, and place his discoveries on record. The results were so encouraging that in the following summer a much larger sum was raised by subscription among members of the Society and others to enable Mr. Ramsay to pursue his researches. This sum, under the title of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, was put under the control of a separate Committee appointed by the subscribers. Although since that period the management of the Fund has passed out of the hands of the Society, substantial grants have from time to time been made by the Council towards the expenses of Mr. Ramsay's successive expeditions, and many important memoirs on various aspects of his researches have been contributed to the *Journal* by Mr. Ramsay himself and by his travelling companions, Professor Sayce, Mr. A. H. Smith, and Mr. D. G. Hogarth.

We now come to the establishment of the British School at Athens. In this important undertaking, closely allied as it is with its professed objects, the Society has taken only an indirect part. It was not formally brought before the Council until after the inaugural meeting of its supporters, held at Marlborough House in June, 1883, under the presidency of the Prince of Wales. The credit of its initiation is due to one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, Professor Jebb, whose able article in the *Fortnightly Review* of February, 1883, entitled "A Plea for a British Institute at Athens," first placed the idea upon a practicable basis, and was the immediate occasion of the brilliant meeting above referred to. The scheme was warmly commended to the support of the Hellenic Society in the Council's Report of the same year, and each succeeding Report has referred to its progress. The Society was, moreover, directly represented upon the Executive Committee which carried the project into effect, and has still a representative upon the Managing Committee of the School. When the School was at last established, in October, 1886, the Council made an annual grant of £100 for three years towards its maintenance. In the success of the School so far, and in its future prosperity, the Society may thus claim to have shown the liveliest interest.

The Cyprus Exploration Fund is of more recent origin and the initiative was in this case taken by the Society, as was indicated in the Report for last Session. A movement from various quarters in favour of systematic exploration of the island found its natural expression in a Special Meeting, held in October, 1887, of the Council of the Society, and under the sanction of that body an appeal was circulated with a view to the formation of a Fund. This was eventually, as in the case of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, placed under the control of a separate Committee, appointed by the subscribers. The Council made a grant of £150

from the funds of the Society. The official report of the results of the first season's work was at the request of this Committee offered for publication in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and duly appeared in the last number issued.

It remains to say a word of the Library. As soon as the *Journal* was started arrangements were made for its exchange with the leading archaeological periodicals, English and foreign, and the back numbers of some of them, especially the Proceedings of the French and German Institutes at Athens, were acquired by purchase. This formed the nucleus of a library where members might keep themselves informed of the progress of archaeological research. From time to time other important additions have been made, and although the funds at the disposal of the Library Committee are limited, it is hoped that in the end a valuable collection of the more important archaeological works may be made. Under the regulations drawn up by the Library Committee, members have the privilege of borrowing certain of the books under such conditions as may ensure their safety, without undue inconvenience to those who may wish to consult them in the Library itself. A Catalogue of the Library was printed last year, and a supplement will be printed in each volume of the *Journal*.

Before closing this summary of the work of the Society in the last ten years, reference should be made to the important meeting held in 1886 to discuss questions which had been raised in regard to the antiquity of the remains found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae and Tiryns. Dr. Schliemann and Dr. Dörpfeld came from Athens on purpose to take part in this meeting, which excited very general interest, and strengthened the position of the Society as the natural centre for such discussions in this country.

Turning now to a more detailed survey of the past session, the Council has to remind members that after the extraordinary energy and expenditure of the Session 1887-88, prudence no less than lack of opportunity has dictated for a time a less active policy. There is accordingly little to record. No fresh grant was needed for the Cyprus Exploration Fund, the money in hand being sufficient to cover the cost of the recent excavations at Polites Chrysokhou, the site of the ancient Arsinoe. The results of these operations will be reported before long to a meeting of subscribers, and may possibly be hereafter recorded in the pages of the *Journal*. The School at Athens, still under the directorship of Mr. Ernest Gardner, has again taken charge of the work in Cyprus, but important work of which the Society may hear at some future time has also been done by its students in Athens. The grant towards the maintenance of the School made for three years in the autumn of 1886 is now at an end, and in the coming session the Council will be called upon to consider the question of its renewal. Members must feel that the support of such an institution is among the worthiest objects to which the funds of the Society could be

applied, and if the Council see their way to renew the grant for another term they will reckon confidently upon the approval of the Society at large.

Reference has already been made incidentally to a scheme now under consideration for the distribution among members at cost price, of photographs of Greek sites and monuments. For two large collections recently taken, the consent of the owners of the negatives has been obtained and a circular on the subject will shortly be issued. It is hoped that other amateurs who have taken photographs in Greece will fall in with the proposal, and if this be so an important step will have been taken towards meeting a want very generally felt for views of sites and monuments which have not hitherto tempted the professional photographer.

It has been usual to refer in the Report to the principal contents of the *Journal* for the past year. Volume IX., the first in the enlarged form, will compare favourably with any of its predecessors. The Report upon the recent excavations at Paphos and elsewhere in Cyprus, contributed jointly by Mr. Ernest Gardner, the Director of the Expedition, and his colleagues, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Mr. M. R. James, and Mr. Elsey Smith, is of first-rate value, not only as a record of the work done and its results, but also as containing an exhaustive account of Paphos and the Temple of Aphrodite from the historical and literary point of view. The volume also contained the first part of an important paper by Professor Ramsay on Phrygian Art; a paper on "Countries and Cities in Ancient Art," by Professor Percy Gardner; on "The Temple of Apollo at Delphi," by Professor Middleton; on "Some Museums of Northern Europe," by Mr. Farnell. Shorter papers on Vases were contributed by Professor Gardner, Mr. Cecil Smith, and Miss Harrison; on Inscriptions, by Rev. E. L. Hicks; and on Metrology, by Professor Ridgeway. In the Appendix were published notices of the most important recent books in various departments of Hellenic archaeology.

It will be seen that the accounts which accompany this Report are presented in a form differing from that in which they have been hitherto submitted to the Society. The system now adopted will serve to show more clearly than heretofore the amounts attributable to the various heads of receipts and expenditure in the general account and the *Journal* account respectively.



A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of previous years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	June 1879 to 31 May, 1881.	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.
Subscriptions . . . . .	£ 1,328	£ 472	£ *589	£ *679	£ *540	£ 532	£ 537	£ 539	£ 545
Arrears . . . . .	...	211	...	...	...	12	35	41	32
Life Compositions . . . .	...	...	...	...	115	10	95	79	47
Libraries and Back Vols . .	12	19	87	97	133	126	156	119	122
Dividends . . . . .	...	...	11	13	14	17	20	30	33
Special Receipts—									
Mr. Bent . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...
Sir C. Nicholson . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...
Laurentian MS. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	53	31
Loan from Bankers . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
	1,340	702	687	789	802	677	898	£61	910
Balance from preceding year	...	873	664	593	901	870	622	489	255
	1,340	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165

\* Including arrears.

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	June 1879 to 31 May, 1881.	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.
Rent . . . . .	£ 15	£ 25	£ 12	£ 25	£ 25	£ 12	£ 42	£ 15	£ 30
Insurance . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	3	2	3	5
Salaries . . . . .	16	20	10	10	20	23	41	46	39
Library . . . . .	33	11	5	44	3	..	4	41	15
Stationery and Printing . .	54	32	44	53	52	62	68	54	61
Cost of Journal (less sales).	347	383	234	592	574	452	412	583	†373
Grants . . . . .	...	50	...	50	*145	150	150	350	100
Investments . . . . .	...	388	...	105	...	220	300	...	...
Sundries . . . . .	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	...
	467	911	358	£81	824	954	1,021	1,095	1,123
Balance . . . . .	873	664	993	901	879	622	439	255	42
	1,340	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165

\* Includes advance of £95 for printing Sophocles MS.

† Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV and V. (= £437) less the amount received from sales.

The item in these tables which requires most comment is the charge of £873 for the *Journal* last year. The explanation of this apparently excessive amount is that it covers not only the cost of Volume IX., but that of reprinting Volumes IV. and V., and supplying 250 sets of plates for Volumes VI.—VIII., amounting in all to £437. It will be remembered that in last year's Report it was suggested that it would be necessary, in order to meet the cost of this reprint, to withdraw for a time some part of the invested funds of the Society. It has, however, been found possible to pay for the greater part of it out of current income, and in order to meet the remaining balance it has been thought better to obtain a temporary advance from the Bankers of the Society than to sell out any portion of its invested funds. The sum of £100 figures therefore in the accounts as a loan, which it is hoped that it will be found practicable to repay out of ordinary receipts. In any case, it must be borne in mind that, as mentioned in previous Reports, the sum invested includes ordinary subscriptions to the amount of £205 10s., and this sum may justly be held applicable to revenue. On the other hand the three Life Subscriptions received during the past year, amounting to £47 5s., have not yet been invested. The advance made some years ago towards the cost of photographing the Laurentian MS. of Sophocles has by this year's receipts been repaid within £10, and the sale of the copies still on hand will more than cover this amount. The balance with the Bankers on May 31st was considerably smaller than usual for the reason given above in regard to the cost of the *Journal*. The Council did not feel justified in borrowing from the Bankers more than was strictly necessary to meet the payments due up to that date. It should be added that at the balancing of the accounts there were arrears of subscriptions to the amount of £140, £26 of which have since been received by the Treasurer.

Since the last Annual Meeting thirty-four new members have been elected. Against this increase must be set the loss by death or resignation of twenty-two members, so that the nett increase is only twelve, a smaller number than in any previous year. The present total of members is 674. To the subscribers one library only has been added, while three have withdrawn their subscription, and two others have arranged in future to procure the *Journal* through their agents. The present total of subscribers is 89.

The moral to be drawn, in the opinion of the Council, alike from the foregoing survey of the development of the Society in its first ten years of existence, and from the record of the past session in particular, is that, while much has been achieved of which the Society may well be proud, much still remains to be done. If the next ten years are to be as fruitful, as full of energy, as the first, there must be no slackness on the part either of the Council or the general body of members. The promotion of the objects of the Society must be kept steadily in view. The *Journal*

must be maintained in undiminished efficiency, but the other objects, and especially the encouragement of exploration and research, and the introduction to members by photographs and otherwise of its main results, must also receive their due measure of attention. To make this energy in various directions possible within the bounds of financial prudence, one thing is needful, a steady increase of income, resulting from a steady increase in the number of members. It is inevitable that the Society should lose some members each year by death or resignation. The average so far has been about twenty-five. Even to redress the balance at least this number of new members must be elected every year. But the Society ought not to be content with standing still. It should be the object of each member alike of the Council and of the Society at large to proselytize, so that each successive year may show an actual increase in the number of members, and thereby add to the power of the Society to carry out in every department the objects which it was founded to promote.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by Prof. BALDWIN BROWN, the Report was unanimously adopted.

The CHAIRMAN then delivered the following address :—

IN a survey of Hellenic studies during the past year, the first place must be given to the researches which have been prosecuted in Greece itself, partly by the Greek Government, partly by the Greek Archaeological Society and by the Foreign Schools. And in Greece the centre of interest has once more been the Acropolis of Athens. A detailed report of the results obtained, on the Acropolis and elsewhere, since our last Annual Meeting, will shortly be given in this Society's Journal, by Mr. E. A. Gardner, the Director of the British School at Athens, whom we are glad to have present with us to-day. In the following remarks my part will therefore be restricted to indicating, as concisely as possible, the more important of these results; and afterwards I hope that we may have the advantage of hearing Mr. Gardner speak in detail on any subjects which he may consider especially deserving of notice.

The excavations on the Acropolis, which began from the Propylaea and were continued eastward, to the north of the Parthenon, have now been brought back along the south side of the Parthenon, reaching the Propylaea once more. The entire area of the Acropolis has thus been thoroughly explored, down to the bed of rock. The gains of the last twelve months from this work on the Acropolis fall under three principal heads: (1) Topography and Architecture; (2) Sculpture; (3) Inscriptions.

(1) Under the first head, notice is due to the further light which has been thrown on the prehistoric fortifications of the Acropolis. The wall

which encircled the summit of the primitive citadel was of the rude type popularly called Cyclopean or Pelasgic, and followed the natural outline of the rock, whereas the later walls were built as much as possible in straight lines. New fragments of this primitive Acropolis wall have been laid bare: and in one place—at the south-east corner of the Propylaea—it is seen to have been nearly twenty feet thick. Another discovery illustrates a point connected with the building of the Parthenon. The artificial basis or platform on which the Parthenon was built rises, on the south side, to a considerable height above the natural rock. It now appears that a limestone wall, of rude construction, was built on the south side of this platform, separated from it by a space of some twelve metres at the east end, and rather less at the west end. The object of such a limit was economy in the use of the earth or other material to be employed in raising the level, as this wall prevented too great diffusion southwards. Then, between the Parthenon and the south edge of the Acropolis, traces have been found of a rude oblong building, constructed partly with the drums of columns rejected apparently by the builders of that earlier temple—never completed—which was superseded by the Parthenon. This oblong building seems to have been covered over with earth when the Parthenon was finished, and may, it is suggested, have been a workshop used by the builders. West of the Parthenon another building has been traced by its foundations. This was a large chamber of about 130ft. by 50ft., with a portico facing north. It is conjectured that this was the *Χαλκοθήκη*, used as a repository for arms and stores. This discovery seems to show that the site of this building did not belong, as had been supposed, to the temenos of Athena Erganè. In the same part of the Acropolis area, west of the Parthenon, the temenos of Artemis Brauronia has now been more accurately defined by the traces of the porticoes which bounded it on the south and east. Within the Parthenon itself excavations have been carried on with a view to ascertaining whether the basis of the temple was a solid mass of stone, or consisted (as in many other temples) merely of foundation walls, with rubble filling the spaces between them. The results are not decisive, but show that the solid stone basis went at least some way beneath the pavement.

(2) In passing to Sculpture, mention is due, first of all, to fragments of architectural groups found buried between the basis of the Parthenon and the limestone wall, already noticed, to the south of it. These fragments are from groups which once adorned the pediments of older temples on the Acropolis—temples possibly destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C. The material is a coarse stone, commonly called *póros*, but which, as Mr. Gardner suggests, might be described, with at least less vagueness, as limestone. In one of these pediment groups the left part showed Heracles wrestling with Triton. In another, belonging to a pediment which was originally about twenty-four feet long, the right half shows a curious monster with three human bodies and six arms, which has been identified with Typhon. Some



surprise has been expressed at the fact that in these, and in some other fragments of the same character found on the Acropolis, so much prominence is given to Heracles, who is not known to have been specially worshipped on the Acropolis. It seems natural to ask whether the mythological associations of Heracles with Theseus may not help to explain it.

The year has not been barren, either, in relation to sculpture of the best time. The head of Iris—first recognised by Dr. Waldstein—has been restored to that block of the Parthenon frieze which contains the seated Zeus and Athena. From the Erechtheum frieze, another seated female figure has been found; the head has perished. An interesting and still mysterious work, belonging to the later years of the fifth century, is a relief of Athena, in chiton, diplois, and Corinthian helmet, leaning on her spear, and gazing down, as if in sorrow, on a plain square pillar. Another relief, of the year 403 B.C., shows Athena grasping the hand of a goddess who is probably the Samian Hera.

(3) Among the inscriptions found on the Acropolis in the course of the year, one of the most interesting is on the same stone with the relief of Athena last mentioned, which forms the head-piece to it. It is a copy of a decree conferring certain privileges on the Samians, in recognition of their fidelity to Athens amid her disasters at the end of the Peloponnesian war. The decree was passed at some time between the battle of Aegospotami, in the autumn of 405 B.C., and the surrender of Athens to Lysander in the following spring. The extant copy was engraved shortly after the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants, in the latter part of 403 B.C.

Another interesting inscription relates to the purchase of materials for the great chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos. It gives the amount of ivory and of gold bought for this purpose in one particular year. The purchase of these costly materials had evidently been distributed over several years. From data furnished by this inscription, combined with some others, it has been inferred that the total value of the gold on the chryselephantine Parthenos must have been about £155,000: an instructive commentary, we note in passing, on the reference of Pericles to the gold of that statue as a possible resource in financial extremity (*Thuc.* 2. 13. § 5).

We may now turn from the Acropolis to other localities. The German Institute has continued the exploration of the Theatre of Dionysus. The discovery of Greek tomb-stones in a house in the Street of the Muses, west of the *Πλάτεια τοῦ Συντάγματος*, affords a presumption that the spot on which they have been found was, in Greek times, outside the eastern wall of Athens. At the Peiraeus, excavations begun by the Greek Government in July, 1888, have determined the site of the Asclepieum. At Eleusis the work carried on by the Greek Archaeological Society has led, among other things, to the finding of some small marble figures—including a copy from a group on the west pediment of the Parthenon. The French School has been active at Delos, at Amorgos, at Mantinea, and in Boeotia—where the

site of the temple of Apollo Ptoüs has been explored, and the Hieron of the Muses on Mount Helicon has been identified. Among the finds made in Boeotia may be mentioned a decree embodying a speech delivered by Nero at Corinth, when he bestowed freedom on the Greeks. Near Thespiæ, the French have discovered a theatre on the hill side, with a well-preserved proscenium of fourteen Doric columns : there was probably no raised stage. The American School has identified the deme of Plotheia, in Attica, and in Boeotia has made experimental diggings at Anthedon, at Thisbe, and at Plataea. The British School has not this year been engaged in excavation, except at Cyprus, where some of the tombs (especially those at Arsinoë) have yielded good results. But in Greece a valuable work of another kind has been commenced under the auspices of the British School. Mr. Schultz, a member of the School and a student of the Royal Academy has been employed in making drawings, to full scale, from the Greek mouldings of the best period. He has now nearly finished the series for Athens and Attica.

Thus far the work to which reference has been made belongs to the field of classical archaeology. But an interesting and important feature in the year's record is the increased attention which is being given to architecture and art of the Byzantine age. The Greek Government has made grants towards the repair of the monastery of Daphne in Attica, and of St. Luke of Stiris in Boeotia. These are among the finest examples of Byzantine work in Greece ; the two churches at Stiris are said to be especially fine, though grievously dilapidated. With this province of work, too, the British School has actively associated itself. The school has undertaken to prepare a series of plans and elevations of the chief Byzantine churches in Greece, with copies of their frescoes and mosaics. During the past year, Mr. Schultz, in conjunction with Mr. Barnsley—also a student of the School and of the Royal Academy—has been working at this subject. Another year, it is hoped, may suffice to complete their labours. This new manifestation of interest in the Byzantine period may be noted with the greater satisfaction, since it has sometimes been complained that, in Greece, classical monuments have been explored at the cost of obliterating the remains of later ages.

An epitome, however brief, of the archaeological work done in Greece during the year must include a word of tribute to Mr. Kabbadias, the chief *Ἐφορος Ἀρχαιοτήτων* under the Greek Government, and editor of the excellent *Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικόν*, in which Dr. Lolling has aided him so far as inscriptions have been concerned.

In the British literature of Hellenic studies for the past year there is at least one incident which the members of this Society cannot fail to notice with interest and pleasure. While the Annual Report which we have heard read has sufficiently indicated that the Hellenic Society's Journal well maintains its position, we are glad also to acknowledge the

success which has attended a younger Journal of kindred aims, though of somewhat different scope—one of the very few, besides our own, in this country which is specially devoted to classical studies. In February last the editors of the *Classical Review*, in issuing the first part of the third annual volume, were able to announce that they had secured an object which they had long desired, viz., the co-operation of classical scholars in the United States, and that three eminent American scholars had joined the editorial staff of the *Review*. The members of this Society will, I doubt not, sympathise with the words used by the English editors in making this announcement: ‘We have great hopes,’ they said, ‘that this new development will not only afford to Englishmen an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the excellent work which is being done in America, but that the closer intercourse thus established between the scholars of England and America may contribute to raise the level of classical learning wherever the English language is spoken.’ Among the varied contents of the *Classical Review* for the last year, it may be permissible to touch in passing on examples of a kind of work which is still much needed, and which, when it is well done, ought certainly to be encouraged by the gratitude of students—viz., accurate description of the classical MSS. to be found in the libraries of this country, or of others. Mr. E. M. Thompson has continued in the *Classical Review* his account of the classical MSS. in the British Museum; and Mr. T. W. Allen has contributed notes on the classical MSS. at Modena, Bologna, and Genoa.

Turning from the youngest Journal occupied with classical studies to the oldest English Society which has been their friend, we may congratulate the Society of Dilettanti on having marked the 155th year of its existence by executing a purpose formed in 1883, and publishing a second edition of Mr. Penrose’s beautiful work, *The Principles of Athenian Architecture*. First as Honorary Architect to the British School at Athens, and afterwards as its first Resident Director, Mr. Penrose has enjoyed ample opportunities of utilising, for his new edition, the results of recent discovery.

On an occasion like the present, when we look back on a year’s endeavours or achievements, it is impossible that the mind should not turn also to the memory of loss. Within the last half year, no fewer than seven distinguished classical scholars have passed away; Professor Paley; Professor J. F. Davies, of Queen’s College, Galway, well known for his work on Aeschylus; Dr. Churchill Babington, the editor of Hypereides; Professor Maguire, of Trinity College, Dublin, eminent alike as a literary scholar and as a Platonist; Professor Kennedy; Professor Chandler; Professor Evans, of Durham;—men whose names are associated with different types of excellence, and different paths of special study, but who were alike in the sincerity of their devotion to learning, and in the thoroughness with which they performed the chosen work of their lives. Hellenic studies owe them a manifold debt; and it is fitting that our sense

of that debt should be acknowledged to-day, though the tribute be rendered rather in grateful thought than in any adequate form of words.

It has been easier to select a few prominent topics for mention than to guard against the charge of omitting some matters that deserved notice. But for any such omissions I may hope to be excused in your eyes, partly by the extensive nature of the subject, partly by the limit of time which it was necessary to observe. I may conclude with a reflection which is naturally suggested by the retrospect in which we have been engaged. Men who are still in middle life remember a time when the place of Greek in a liberal education was as yet unchallenged. This, as we are aware, is no longer the case. But on the other hand it may be asked whether there has ever been a time when Hellenic studies, in all their various ramifications, were offering so large a scope, or were appealing with such attractive power, to the matured energies and abilities of educated men. Above all the unavoidably minute subdivisions of labour in this wide domain, there is rising a clearer perception of the fact that the paramount end of all such studies is to make the life and thought of antiquity more real and vivid to the modern world ; and that the way to do so is not to study the literature apart from the monuments, or the monuments without the literature, but to aim at making them mutually illustrative of each other.

The former President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, and the following were elected to vacancies on the Council, viz. Lord Savile, Sir William Gregory, Prof. R. S. Poole, Mr. R. W. Macan, and Mr. D. G. Hogarth.

The CHAIRMAN proposed on the part of the Council the following alteration in the Rules of which due notice had been given.

Viz. That Rules 5 and 6 be repealed, and that the following be substituted for them.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions donations or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.
6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

The proposal was unanimously adopted.

MR. ERNEST GARDNER, Director of the British School at Athens, read parts of a paper on Archaeology in Greece 1888--9 (*Journal X.* p. 254).

MR. BOUSFIELD suggested the publication in the Journal of a map of the Acropolis as finally cleared.

The CHAIRMAN undertook that this suggestion should be considered by the Editors.

The proceedings closed with the usual vote of thanks to the Auditors and to the Chairman.

## REMAINS OF ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

[PLATES III., IV.]

WHEN Mr. Wood in his patient and successful excavation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus had got down to the natural soil, he observed a number of massive piers underneath the walls of the cella, or rather where the cella walls ought to have been. On the plan in his book he indicates these piers by dotted lines, supposing them to have been made to support the walls of a church built in late times after the temple had been destroyed. It may have been so. But there appears to be no other indication of such a church on the site. This much is certain, that in building these piers a free use had been made of the fragments lying at hand from the older temple which had been destroyed by fire on the night, as we are so often told, when Alexander was born. Fragments of the old frieze and cornice would build in like so many bricks, and give the piers that solidity which Mr. Wood could only break into, as he did reluctantly, by blasting. The result of the blasting was that he obtained a number of archaic fragments of sculpture and architecture which we have now to consider. That happened in 1874. Previously in 1872, he had found some fragments of the same archaic character, not built into piers but apparently loosely mixed with sculpture of a later age.

These archaic fragments when they reached the Museum were the subject of much consideration. Sir Charles Newton dealt with them in a paper in the *Portfolio* (June, 1874), suggesting that they might be the remains of a small *θρυγκός* which Pausanias (x. 38, 3) says ran along the top of the altar of Artemis Protothronia at Ephesus, above which there stood among other figures a statue of Night, by the early artist Rhoecos.<sup>1</sup> It must have been this association of the marble *θρυγκός* with an artist like Rhoecos that led Sir Charles Newton to this suggestion. Rhoecos is too early for sculpture of this kind. Besides it is proposed to show that these

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<sup>1</sup> See also Wood's *Ephesus*, p. 261.

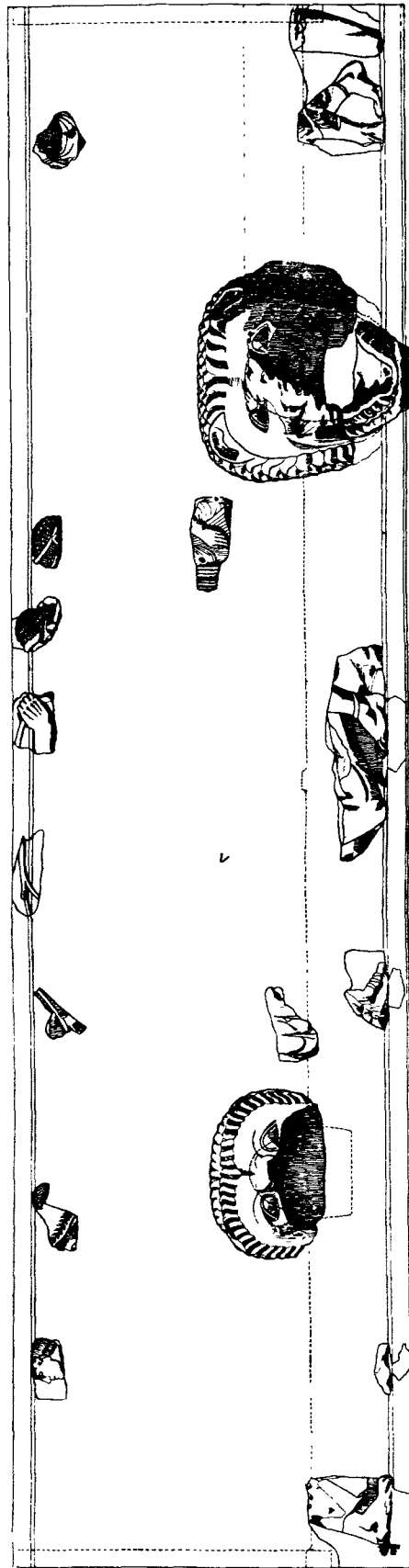


FIG. 1.

fragments belonged to the cornice of the temple itself. One of the results of my endeavours to put these fragments together is exhibited in a drawing here (Fig. 1). The actual re-construction may be seen in the Archaic room of the Museum. I do not claim that every fragment is in absolutely its right place. But it seemed a matter of so much importance to show what the cornice of the old temple was like, that I have ventured to place the fragments here in

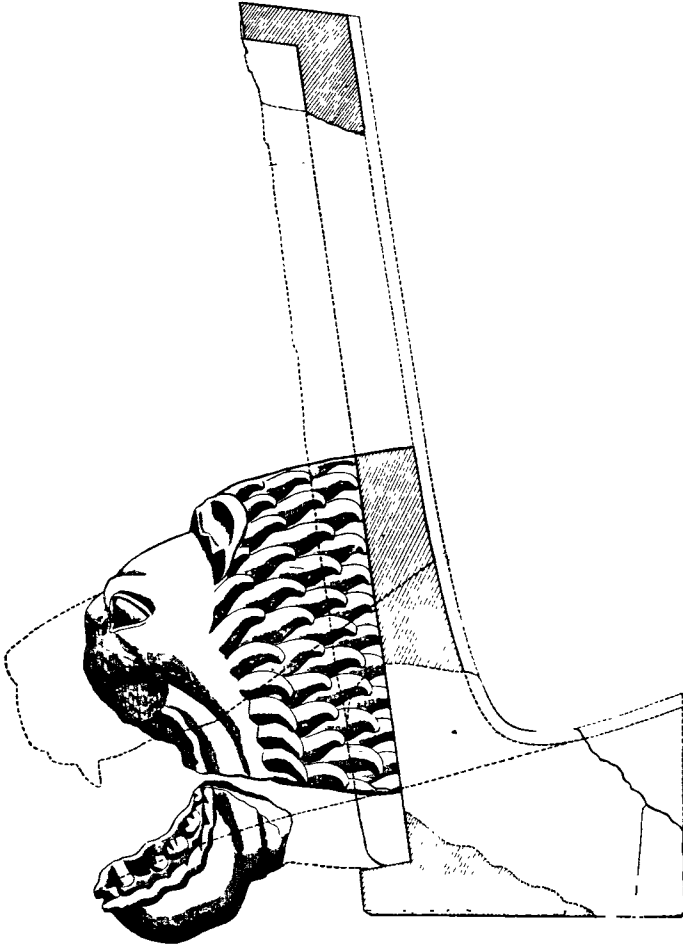


FIG. 2.

their relatively true places. It would have been pedantry not to do so much, since each fragment is in its place relatively at least, and possibly in its true place absolutely.

We have thus a cornice in which the spaces between the lions' heads where the rain on the roof escaped, are occupied not by floral ornaments as in the later temple, and in Greek architecture in general, but by groups



sculptured with extraordinary minuteness and delicacy, so much so that Mr. Wood could not at first sight believe the re-construction possible. A few moments of observation convinced him that the thing was right. He was good enough to send me his measurements for the distance between the lions' heads, and they agreed very closely with what I had arrived at. The height of the cornice was taken from a comparison with the reliefs of the Harpy tomb in the Museum, which belong to about the same period of art.

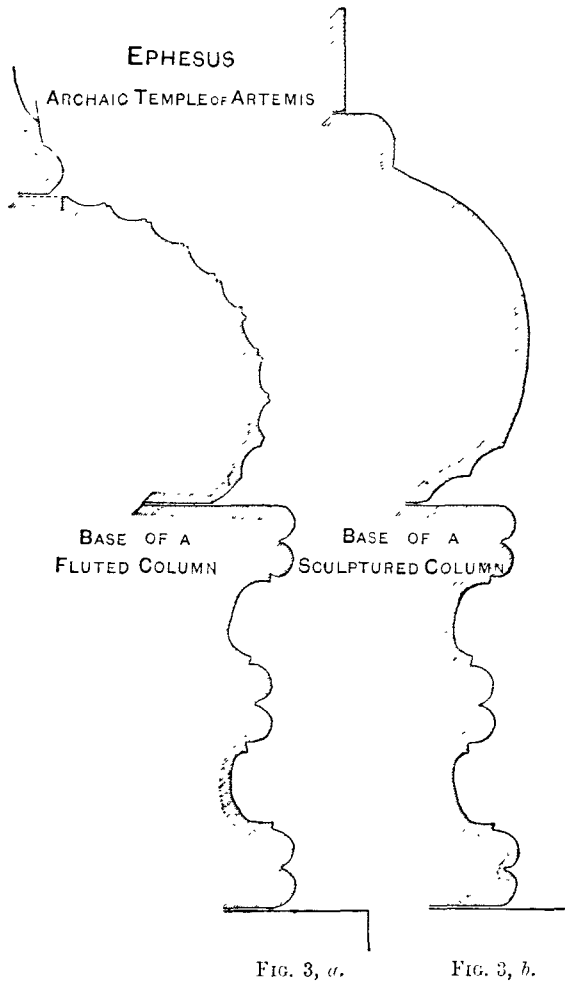
It may be mentioned that though we possess a considerable number of fragments from what I have claimed as the cornice of the temple, yet hardly any two of them have been found to fit together, notwithstanding long and continuous efforts. From this it may be argued that these many isolated fragments had belonged to a very extensive piece of sculpture, such as the cornice of a great temple, they being a mere fraction of the whole. In restoring a part of the cornice from them, I was led originally by the observation that the working of the back and joints of the stones is precisely of the same kind as that of the cornice of the later temple, regular divisions being made in the gutter so that the water collecting from the roof might flow out at the lions' mouths at regular intervals (Fig. 2). No doubt the cornice as here restored wants the graceful profile of later architecture, but that, I understand, is not altogether without precedent. A selection from the remaining fragments will be found on Plate IV.

As regards the designs represented in these sculptures, we may suppose either that they had formed a continuous subject, separated into groups by the lions' heads, or that they had consisted of an extensive series of separate subjects, in the manner of metopes. In either case this separation of sculptured groups may throw some light on the origin of metopes. I have only attempted to suggest one group in the centre of the diagram, a group which may be restored as the combat of a Greek and a Centaur following the analogy of a gem engraved in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (I. p. 130). The Centaur has human not equine forelegs—a circumstance familiar in archaic art. The hand holding a branch, which is let in at the top, is so suitable for a Centaur, that I need not quote instances of it.

In the matter of artistic style, reference has already been made to the Harpy tomb. The Ephesian cornice is on a rather smaller scale, and the figures more minutely finished. Except for that the comparison ought to stand good. The date usually assigned to the Harpy tomb is about 550 B.C. There is no reason why our cornice should not be about the same period.

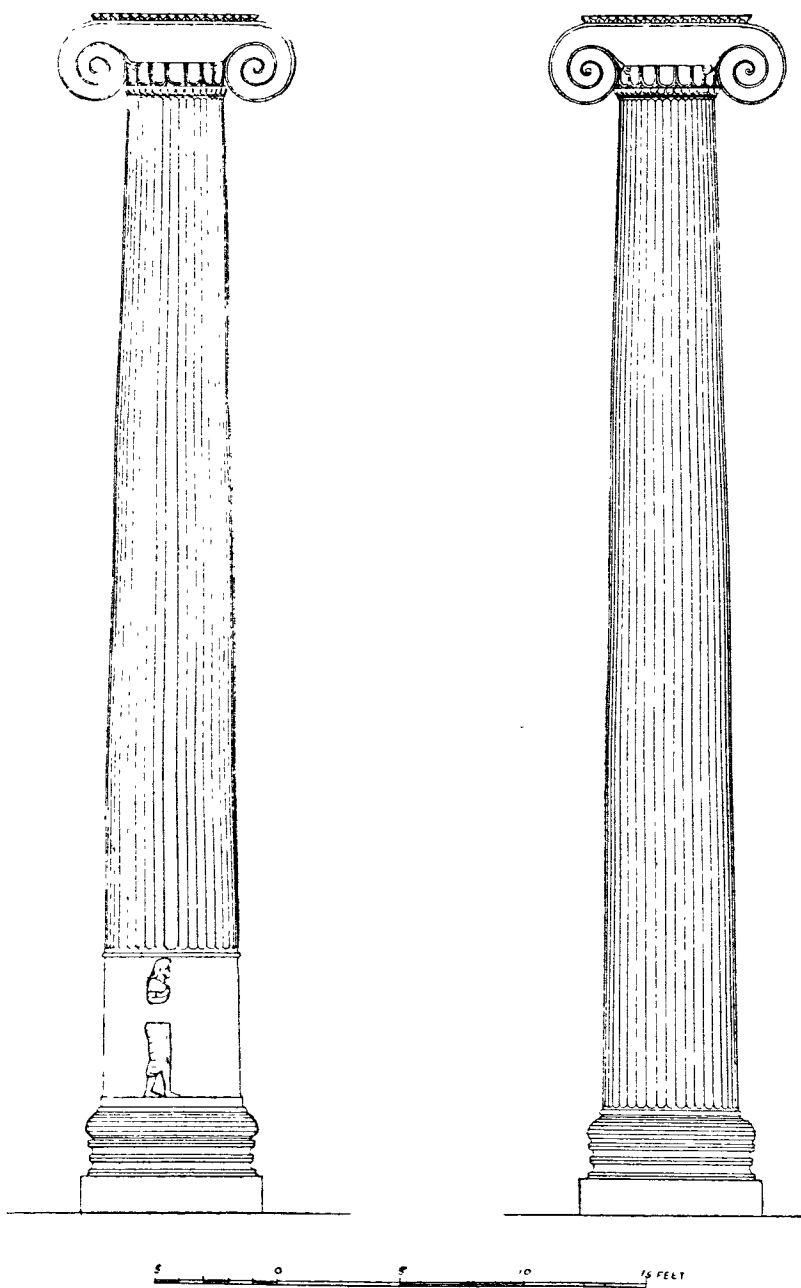
Among the other fragments of the archaic temple were some which have been known for a while as remains of sculptured columns (see Plate III). It was known in a general way that the sculptured columns—columnae coelatae—which adorned the temple of Alexander's time, as we learn from Pliny, and from the sculptured drums found by Mr. Wood, had in fact been copied from the older temple, not necessarily as regards the subjects, still less as regards the style, but in the general idea. No one however took up the idea to work it out or disprove it. We have now put together part of one of these archaic columns. As regards the figure on the lowest drum, I do not of

course vouch that the upper part belongs absolutely to the lower. It is a matter of general truth only. There must have been some such upper part to the figure. The whole answers fairly to the Hermes on an archaic vase from Corinth, in the British Museum. It will be observed that under the feet of the figure is a flat band, which does not exist in the later temple. Next comes a torus moulding, as in the later temple, but smaller. In the



restoration of this moulding I have employed the fragments which, according to Mr. Hicks' quite obvious conjecture, are inscribed with the name and dedication of Croesos.<sup>1</sup> We were guided to that by a large piece of unfinished base moulding in the Museum, on the upper edge of which is carved a torus exactly the same as that of the inscribed fragments (Fig. 3, b). Finding

<sup>1</sup> *Manual of Greek Hist. Inscript.* No. 4.

FIG. 4, *a*.FIG. 4, *b*

several pieces of this upper member finished with horizontal flutings but incomplete at the top, I have placed the inscribed fragments above them. Those who recollect the base of the later temple, in the Museum, will know that it has in this place a fluted member of this same character. The profile, however, is quite different, as would be expected in architecture of such widely different dates.

Finding that up to this point the new temple had in general copied the old, I decided, after an unsatisfactory experiment, to try whether the remaining base of the new temple might give a clue for restoring the lowest part of the archaic base. Among the archaic fragments we found a number of pieces which answered perfectly to this idea (Figs. 3, *a* and 5). The result is that we have a general resemblance between the new and the old bases, but many points of detail in which the one differs from the other.

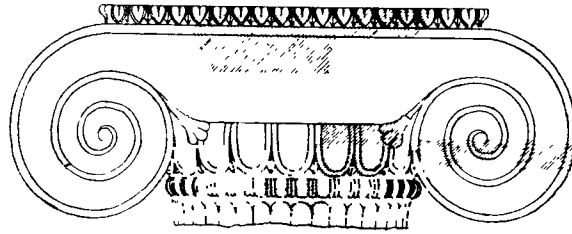
The sculpture of the archaic columns, so far as I can judge, is of the same period as the cornice (see Plate III. and Fig. 4, *a*). The forms are of course larger and more simply treated. But the workmanship is of the same delicate archaic kind. On the column the remains of colour are slighter than on the cornice, where in some parts they are quite brilliant in reds and blues. We have the same reds in parts of the columns, and in other fragments we have remains of blue; the marble also is of the same quality, finer than that of the later temple, or at all events made to look finer by most careful workmanship. This workmanship is conspicuous in the architectural mouldings and flutings as compared with the later temple. Though I had no hesitation in selecting these archaic fragments, I have been glad since then to find the selection confirmed by an observation of our invaluable mason Pinker to this effect, that there is no trace of the use of a claw tool in the archaic remains. It abounds in the later temple.

But we have still some fragments to deal with. For instance, there are some pieces of fluted columns, including a large piece of a shaft, and a small piece of a lowermost drum, with an inscribed torus moulding, indicating a dedication, whether by Croesos or not we cannot say. We know from Herodotus (I. 92), that Croesos bore the expense of most of the columns of the temple as it existed in the time of Herodotus. We are entitled to assume that the older, like the later temple, had only a limited number of sculptured columns; the rest being merely fluted, as shown in Fig. 4, *b*. Some of the inscribed fragments clearly belong to fluted columns, and may have been the gift of other persons, though no name but that of Croesos has been recovered. It should be stated that the fragments which I have put together as bearing the name Βα[σιλεὺς] Κροῖσος ἀνέ[θηκε]ν cannot have belonged to absolutely the same stone, since one has a top bed and another a bottom bed. Yet they must obviously have belonged to the same member in different columns.

We cannot well assume that the entire column had been sculptured from bottom to top, or even up the length of three drums, as Mr. Wood preferred for the later temple. It would be better to be content with only a lowermost sculptured drum on the analogy of Egyptian columns, as at Karnak and Medinet Abou, where we have only one row of figures, the rest of the column

## EPHESUS

## ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS



PLAN

HATCHING SHOWS  
EXISTING PORTIONS.

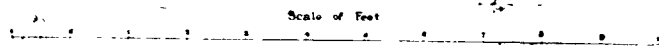
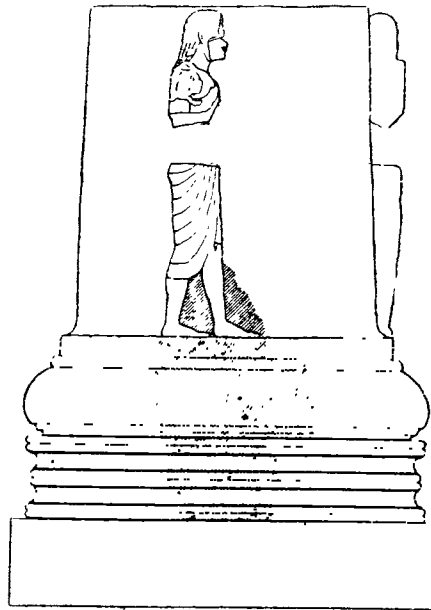


FIG. 5.

being covered by mere patterns. If then the Ephesian columns were fluted all the way down to the lowermost drum, it is conceivable that the fluted fragment of which I have spoken may have come immediately above the sculptured drum. A strong objection however is, that the inscription is so placed on the torus as to be looked down on, not up to.

As I am not proposing to deal with the whole question of this archaic temple, only with such parts as appear to have been made out, it will be enough to mention further, that we possess a stone from the cella wall and several fragments which have enabled Mr. Elsey Smith to restore the capital and necking of a column (Fig. 5). On one of these fragments are remains of strong red colour. On another, a hollow line running round the volute has been filled in with lead, and gilded. On a third, the canal of the volute instead of being hollow is raised precisely as in the capital of the archaic temple at Samos.

The date of the archaic temple from which these fragments have so strangely survived, is I think determined by the inscribed mouldings bearing the name of Croesos, taken together with the statement of Herodotus, that most of the columns had been the gift of that king. Herodotus spoke of the temple which existed in his time, and he had good means of knowing the truth from his residence close at hand in Samos. Croesos, we are told, had at one time laid siege to Ephesus, on which occasion the Ephesians had sought protection by connecting the temple of Artemis with the city walls by means of a rope. For some reason or other, whether before that incident or after it, a new temple certainly was built, largely by the aid of Croesos. The architect for a while was Chersiphron, of whom we hear in various ways. The sculptured columns must have been executed during his office. But nothing is said of the sculptors who had been employed. In connection with them I have only a passing conjecture to offer.

Comparing these archaic fragments from Ephesus with the marble statue of Nikè by Archermos, now in the Museum at Athens, I thought that the differences of style were of such a kind as would be expected from a son of Archermos. They are the differences of a new generation at a time of active progress in art. Archermos was followed and surpassed by his son Bupalos, whose works we are told were much admired centuries after his time in Rome, where many of them were to be seen. Greece was plundered for his works. Bupalos and the family of sculptors to which he belonged worked in marble. He was an architect, and sculptured reliefs in marble. We read of figures of the Graces by him in Smyrna and Pergamon. He had therefore been employed in the immediate neighbourhood of Ephesus. That he worked in Ephesus is not directly stated. We know this however, that the poet Hipponax was a native of Ephesus, that Bupalos made caricatures of the poet, that Hipponax revenged himself by a stinging satire in iambics—'Acer hostis Bupalos,' as Horace says. There is of course no proof that this happened in Ephesus, the native town of Hipponax. It might have happened in Clazomenae, where Hipponax lived after he had been expelled from Ephesus on account of his poetic satires. But the style of the sculpture has strongly impressed me as just such as would be expected from a sculptor of the age

## 10 REMAINS OF ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

and traditions of Bupalos. About the contemporaneousness of Croesos, Hipponax, Bupalos, and these sculptured fragments, I see no reason to have the smallest doubt, and if that is so, we obtain a standard of date which will be useful in reference to other archaic sculptures, such as the Harpy tomb, the Branchidae statues, and in particular the metopes of the oldest temple at Selinus in Sicily.

A. S. MURRAY.

## THE GREEK-SPEAKING POPULATION OF SOUTHERN ITALY.

It will probably be a surprise, even to readers of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, to learn that there are at the present day twenty thousand persons in the south of Italy who speak Greek as their native tongue. These people form two separate groups, composed of a number of villages or townships, one of which is found in the heel of Italy or Terra d'Otranto, the other in the toe of that country, towards the extremity of the modern Calabria, in the neighbourhood of Cape Spartivento, and about twenty miles to the south-east of Reggio. The language which they speak, as might well be supposed, is not ancient Greek, nor is it in any sense a lineal descendant of that which was spoken in the colonies of Magna Graecia; but, though it is essentially modern Greek, it differs considerably from the Romaic of Greece, and these differences are of such a nature, that it must have required the lapse of many centuries to produce them. There can be no doubt that at one time it was spoken over a much wider area than at present; indeed, within the memory of man it has died out, and has been superseded by Italian, in places where it had previously been in use. Any traditions which may have existed with regard to the origin of this people and the fortunes of their ancestors they have now entirely lost; and their history, as far as it can be discovered at all, must be reconstructed from casual notices in historical documents and from intimations contained in the language. The object of the present paper is to draw attention to some of the more salient characteristics of that language, and to the poems which have been composed in it; and afterwards to discuss the evidence which may be drawn from these and other sources with regard to the immigration of these Greeks into Italy. The information which it contains is mainly drawn from the works of earlier authorities, of whose learned labours some account will be given later on; but during the autumn of 1887 I myself visited both these colonies, with the object of inquiring into their present condition, and of verifying a number of interesting points relating to the language. My informants on the spot (to whom I desire to tender my sincere thanks) were two intelligent Greeks—for the Otranto district, the parish priest of Sternatia, the Rev. Giuseppe Ancora; for the Calabrian group, Sig. Vitale Pietro, the schoolmaster of Bova.

The peninsula which forms the heel of Italy, starting, as its base, from a line drawn across from Brindisi to Taranto, is throughout its whole area a slightly undulating level, and Lecce, which is its principal city, stands near



its centre. It is in the inland region to the southward of that place that the towns and villages lie where Greek is spoken. At the present time they are nine in number, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants in all, viz. Martáno, Caliméra, Melpignáno, Castrignáno, Zollíno, Martignáno, Sternatía, Soléto, and Corigliáno. Of these, Zollino forms the junction, where the railway which runs south from Lecce divides into two branches, one of which reaches the sea at Otranto towards the south-east, the other at Gallipoli towards the south-west; and the other towns lie either on, or at no great distance from, one or other of those lines. The position which is occupied by the Greek settlements in Calabria forms a strong contrast to this, for it is completely a mountain region. The traveller, indeed, who passes Cape Spartivento in the train, may see a station named Bova on the sea-coast; but the town of that name, which is the head-quarters of this colony, and is called Vua (*Βοῦα*) by its inhabitants, lies eight miles inland, on the summit of a peak 3,000 feet above the sea, and can only be reached by a steep foot-path. Its strange situation recalls that of Sta Agnese, the hill-town at the back of Mentone. Within, owing to the ruggedness of the ground, the houses are piled irregularly on one another, and the streets zigzag at odd angles. Its various localities bear Greek names; one square is called Amalía (*i.e.* *Ὀμαλία*), 'the level,' another Itonía (*i.e.* *Γειτονία*) Megále, 'the great neighbourhood'; a street is named Aion Tríphono (San Trifone); and the three fountains are Siphóni, Petrophýlaco, and Cleisté, the last of these being a double spring, with a trough for washing, covered in by an arch of masonry. The other Greek-speaking towns in its neighbourhood are Condofúri (*i.e.* *Κοντοχώριον*, or 'the village near' Bova), with Amendoléa and Gallicianó; Roccaforte, called by the Greeks Vuní or 'mountain-town' (*Βουνίον*); and Rofúdi or Rochúdi (*Ροχούδιον*), a name which describes its rocky site (*ρύχη*, 'mountain ridge'). The population of these amounts to five thousand. At Cardeto, where a peculiar dialect, differing in many important points from those of its neighbours, was until lately in use, the Greek language has now disappeared—fortunately, not before its pronunciation had been observed and its vocabulary and grammatical forms had been registered. Another trace of a wider diffusion of the language and people remains in the name Pentedattilo, the same which, in its more accurate form of Pentedactylon, is familiar to the traveller in the Peloponnese as the modern appellation of Taygetus. Here it is attached to a steep and solitary mass of rock, rising into five columnar peaks, which forms a conspicuous object in the view from the sea, as the voyager passes out of the Straits of Messina on his way to Greece. The village of the same name, which occupies a precipitous position on its landward side, no doubt was once Greek, but now its inhabitants are merged in the surrounding Italian population.

The Greeks of Bova appear to be much poorer than those of the Terra d'Otranto—a result which might naturally arise from the country which they inhabit being less productive and harder to cultivate; but in both districts the pursuits of the people are almost entirely agricultural, and notwithstanding that they live within easy reach of the sea, they never go abroad or engage in

commerce. Though a few of the peasants who live at a distance from the town of Bova speak Greek only, yet the great majority, both there and in the heel of Italy, are bilingual, being equally familiar with Greek and Italian. From this fact it would be natural to conclude that they are losing their native language, especially as we find that the same process of change has already been going on; and in the Terra d'Otranto, where the progress of railways has brought them into closer communication with the outer world, it might be expected that they would be rapidly assimilated. But in reality this has not happened, and the anticipation of Morosi, the chief authority on subjects relating to them, who, writing in 1870, expressed his belief that in two generations the Greek language in these parts would be extinct, has not been verified. On the contrary, I was assured by members of both groups that at the present time they have no fear of this result. Up to seven years of age, they said, the children speak nothing but Greek; and though in the schools their instruction is confined to Italian, yet, like the Highlanders with their Gaelic, in their families they only employ their native tongue, and they are very tenacious in retaining it. Still, it is difficult to see how they can for any length of time resist the influences by which they are surrounded, when the counteracting forces are wanting by which the tide might be stemmed. In the first place, they possess no Greek books, and do not use the Greek character in writing. To the philologist who investigates their language the advantage of this is great, because the dialects retain their purity, and cannot be tampered with by the introduction of classical forms; but, at the same time, it is almost impossible to retain a language permanently, in the face of one that is more dominant, without a written literature. Again, they have no feeling of nationality to support them. Of the kingdom of Greece they know nothing, and when I talked to them on the subject, they manifested no interest in it or in the Greek people. The two groups of Greeks in Italy, of whom I am speaking, though they are aware of one another's existence, are mutually unacquainted, and no communication ever passes between them. The Greek colony that is settled in Corsica is unknown to them. Politically, their desire is to be regarded as good Italian subjects, and in conversation they identify themselves with Italy and its interests. Though they rarely intermarry with their Italian neighbours, yet they are on good terms with them; and the bar of religious difference, which must once have interposed between them, has been removed by centuries of conformity to the Western rite. A trace of former antagonism, combined perhaps with a reminiscence of the early ecclesiastical distinction, is found in their still calling the Italians 'Latins' (*Λατῖνοι*): as, for instance, in a love-song, where the lover tells his lady that he wishes to teach her a sonnet in Greek, in order that the 'Latins' may not understand what he says:—

Ἦτελα νά σου μάσω ἴνα sonetto  
Γρηκὸν, νὰ μὴ τὸ φσέρουνε οἱ Λατῖνοι·

where *ἦτελα*, *μάσω*, and *φσέρουνε* stand for *ἠθελα*, *μάθω*, and *ἠξεύρουν*.

The earliest inquiries that were made concerning this people and their

language are associated with a number of distinguished literary names. Though vague intimations of their existence had been furnished by travellers, such as Swinburne, Eustace, and Keppel Craven, yet the first person who really threw light on the subject, and brought it under the notice of men of letters, was Carl Witte, the famous Dante scholar. When journeying as a young man in South Italy, he was informed at Reggio that there were Greeks in that neighbourhood, and accordingly he put himself at once in communication with some of the inhabitants of the Bova district. The result was that he succeeded in writing down from the mouth of the people in Roman letters about fifty Greek words, together with three songs; and these he afterwards submitted to Cardinal Mezzofanti, who transcribed them—with a somewhat free adaptation, it must be allowed—into Greek. One of the songs was published by Witte in 1821 in the *Gesellschafter*, together with a short introductory notice, in which he advocated the notion, that the dialect in which it was composed was independent of Modern Greek, and had descended in a direct line from the speech of Magna Graecia. This seems to have attracted little notice at the time, and must have been unknown to Niebuhr, when, six years later, he published the first volume of his *History of Rome*; otherwise he would certainly have cited it in support of the view expressed in the following passage, which is still interesting, though it is now acknowledged to be untenable.

‘Calabria, like Sicily, continued to be a Greek country, though the Romans planted colonies on the coasts. The Greek language did not begin to give way there till the fourteenth century: it is known to have prevailed not three hundred years since at Rossano, and no doubt much more extensively; for our knowledge of the fact as to that little town is merely accidental. Nay, at this day there is a population that speaks Greek remaining in the neighbourhood of Locri.’<sup>1</sup>

It happened, however, that, long after this, Witte chanced to broach the subject in the course of a conversation with Prof. A. F. Pott; and that distinguished philologist became so much interested in the question, that he obtained leave to publish all three of the songs, as well as Witte’s list of words; this he did in 1856 in the eleventh volume of the *Philologus*, in a paper entitled ‘Altgriechisch im heutigen Calabrien?’ He there confutes Niebuhr’s and Witte’s view of the continuity of the Greek race and language in Italy by a minute examination of the vocabulary and inflexions, in which he shows that they are closely allied to those now in use in Greece.

The inquiry, which thus far had been pursued in a somewhat *dilettante* spirit, was now taken in hand in good earnest by the Italians themselves. To pass over a number of minor contributions to the subject—in 1866 Prof. Comparetti published at Pisa, under the title of *Saggi dei dialetti greci dell’ Italia Meridionale*, a collection of forty-three poems, thirty-eight of which were from Bova—having been for the most part obtained for him by a former

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<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, *History of Rome* (Eng. trans.), i. 62. In his note to this passage, the author refers to the Neapolitan minister, Count Zurlo, as his authority for the last statement.

pupil of his, Prof. Terra of Reggio—and the remaining five from the Terra d'Otranto. The introduction and notes to this volume are of great value on account of the accomplished writer's intimate acquaintance with the Modern Greek language and its dialects. In 1867 Prof. Morosi, who had been appointed to a post in Lecce, set to work to study on the spot the language of the Greeks in those parts, and to collect their literature; and the result of his labours appeared in his *Studi sui dialetti greci della Terra d'Otranto* (Lecce, 1870). This admirable book, which is a model of acute and thoroughly scientific investigation in the domain of philology, contains 177 songs, and a collection of stories and proverbs in prose, with Italian translations; a critical review of these compositions; a grammar, in which the sounds of the language and the changes which they have undergone, and the system of inflexions, are fully set forth; a glossary of the most important words; and a historical essay on the origin and history of this Greek colony. The poems have here been arranged according to the townships from which they come, so that the dialectic peculiarities of each can be studied separately; and in other ways the careful manner in which the linguistic features of each community have been distinguished is singularly instructive to the student of dialects. The only point in Prof. Morosi's treatment of his subject to which exception can be taken, is his too great fondness for discovering traces of the classical dialects—Aeolic, Doric, and Ionic—in the modern Greek language, a view which is rapidly losing ground at the present time. In 1874 the same writer published another book on the poems and the language of the Calabrian Greeks—*Dialetti romairi del Mandamento di Bova in Calabria*—which is arranged according to the same method, and is distinguished by the same merits, as its predecessor. Finally, in 1880, Prof. Pellegrini, who during his residence as professor at Reggio had investigated the subject independently, in a volume entitled *Il dialetto greco-calabro di Bova* printed seventy-five songs from that district, thirty-eight of which then appeared for the first time; the remainder were the same which Comparetti had previously published, but in the case of twenty-five of them the new editor obtained fresh, and in some points different, versions. To these he added translations of the story of Joseph and his brethren, and of the parable of the Prodigal Son, in the Greek of Bova; and an excellent lexicon, in which the words of this dialect are compared with those which correspond to them in the dialect of the Terra d'Otranto, and in Modern Greek.<sup>1</sup> In the works of the three authors who have been mentioned in this paragraph the subject may be said to have been thoroughly sifted; and it is to them that I am indebted for the materials of which this article is composed.

It is obviously impossible for me within my present limits to give, even in outline, an account of these dialects; and for this I may refer the reader to Morosi's publications, though that which relates to the Terra d'Otranto is, I grieve to say, extremely rare. But in order to render the specimens of the

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<sup>1</sup> The second volume of this work, which was      and general conclusions, has never appeared. to have contained the phonology, morphology,

literature which follow more intelligible than they otherwise might be, as well as on account of the interest of the subject itself, it may be well that I should here draw attention to some of their more salient peculiarities, and especially to those in which they differ from ordinary Modern Greek. For clearness sake I will mention first those that are found (with slight differences) in both dialects, and afterwards those that are confined to the Otrantine and the Calabrian respectively. It may be convenient to use the following abbreviations. A.G. for Ancient Greek, M.G. for Modern Greek, Otr. for the Greek of the Terra d'Otranto, Bov. for that of Bova.

*General Remarks on both Dialects.*

SOUNDS.—(1) The pronunciation both of vowels and consonants is in most points the same as in Greece, and itacism prevails to the same extent; but  $\kappa$  is soft (Eng. *ch*) before soft vowels, as it is also in many of the Greek islands and in the south of the Morea. In Otr. also the letter  $\delta$ , which in M.G. and Bov. has the sound of soft *th* (as in Eng. *this*), is pronounced like *d*. (2) Owing to the influence of the Calabrian and other neighbouring dialects of Italian, which substitute *dd* for *ll*, in the Greek dialects  $\lambda\lambda$  becomes *dd*, as  $\acute{\alpha}l\lambda\delta\sigma$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\sigma$ ,  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}d\delta\sigma$  for  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\sigma\nu$ ,  $\beta\acute{\alpha}d\delta\omega$  for  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ ,  $\mu\acute{a}d\delta\acute{\iota}$  for  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}$ , 'hair'; and the same is the case with  $\lambda$  between vowels, as  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\acute{\iota}d\delta\iota$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\sigma$ , 'April,'  $\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}d\delta\iota$  for  $\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\sigma$ , 'barrel,'  $\pi\omicron\upsilon d\delta\acute{\iota}$  for  $\pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}$ , 'bird,'  $\pi\epsilon\rho\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon d\delta\alpha$  for  $\pi\epsilon\rho\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha$ , 'partridge.' It is noticeable that in one place, the village of Cardeto near Bova, where the Greek language has recently become extinct, this change did not occur, but the original sound of  $\lambda\lambda$  was retained. (3) Probably the influence of the Italian dialects also caused the broad *u*-sound ( $\omicron\upsilon$ ) frequently to take the place of  $\sigma$ : the *u*-sound predominates in Calabrian, as *manu* for *manco*, *sulo* for *solo*, *dopu* for *dopo*; and, though it is often found taking the place of  $\omega$  in M.G. dialects, as *kátu* for *kátω*, *óξou* for *éξω*, yet in the Italian Greek dialects, especially in Bov., it is much more common, as *éξou* for *éξω*, *σκουλήκι* for *σκωλήκι*. Other changes in words fall under the following heads. (4) *Assimilation*; as Otr. *lúnno* for *lúchros*, *kannízω* for *kapnízω*, 'I smoke,' *phsunnáω* for *éξupnáω*, *éseíouttai* for *seíouti*, *égétth* for *égénth*: Bov. *gynnó* for *gymnós*, *skanní* for *skamníon*, *péttw* for M.G. *péftw* (*píttw*). (5) *Transposition of consonants*; as Otr. *prikó* for *pikrós*, *chroudó* for *choudrós*, 'stout'; Bov. *ghrambó* for *ghambrós*, *prandeúω* for *úpandreúω*, 'I marry,' *spωmí* for *úψumí*, *sulauri* for *suraulion* (M.G. *sourauli*) 'reed-pipe.' (6) *Loss of initial vowels*; as Otr. *kóuω* for *ákóuω*, *milō* for *ómilō*, *phánei* for *úφánei*, *voíφuω* for *ánoíφuω* (= *ánoíguω*), *uáφse* for *ánáφse* (= *ánáψuω*); Bov. *uáti* for *íμátion*, *stéá* for *óσtéá*, *kató* for *ékaton*, *drónω* for *ídróω*, *ghapáω* for *ághapáω* *sázei* for *isázei*. (7) *Prothetic vowels*; both before two initial consonants, as Otr. *áφtechó* for *ptωchós*, *éφtázuω* for *phthánω*: Bov. *áβdélla* for *βdélla*, *áβlépuω* for *βlépuω*, *éβréchei* for *βréchei*: and also before one only, as Otr. *áláō* for *lagós*, *iléuω* for *léguω*, *íchánei* for *chánei*, 'he loses,' *íkaizei* for *kathízei*; Bov. 'Apanagía for *Panagía*, *ánogáω* for *uoéuω*. (8) *Prothetic vowels*; as Otr. *kánoune* for *kánoun*,

'they make,' *τόνε* for *τόν*: Bov. (in some local dialects) *λόγοσε* for *λόγος*, *ἡμείσε* for *ἡμεῖς*. Changes corresponding in principle to those enumerated under the last five heads are found also in the dialects of Modern Greek.

ACCENTS.—These are generally the same as in M.G., but in both the Italian Greek dialects we find certain irregularities; *e.g.* Otr. *τερμάσι* for *θέρμανσις*, *ἀδεία* for *ἄδεια*, *φτηνό* for *κτῆνος*, and *όλός* occasionally for *ὅλος*, though in this word the accentuation varies: Bov. *χάμαι* for *χαμαί*, *ἀνίζιο* for *ἀνεψιός*, *δαμάσκηνο* for *δαμασκηνό*, 'plum,' *κάταρα* for *κατάρα*. In both dialects the plural of *ἄνθρωπος* does not retain its normal accent; in Otr. we find sing. *ἄτρεπο*, plur. *ἀτρώποι*; in Bov. sing. *ἄθρωπο*, plur. *ἀθρώποι*; and a similar irregularity is found in some other words, as *ἀπόστολος*, *ἀποστόλοι*. In both, also, the adverb signifying 'yet,' 'still,' which in M.G. is *ἀκόμη*, appears as *ἀκομή*: possibly, however, this is not a corruption, but a retention of the accent of the classical *ἀκμήν*, from which the word is derived, and which is found in this sense from the time of Theocritus onwards. In both the word, which in A.G. and M.G. is *παλαιός*, has become *παλαῖο*. But the most remarkable change is that which has befallen *αὐτός*, which in Otr. is *αὔτο*, in Bov. *ἄστο*; this however, is occasionally found in Mediaeval Greek (see *J.H.S.* vol. iv. pp. 205, 213). It is noticeable, also, that the tendency to throw forward the accent of words on to the final syllable, which is so common in Modern Greek, as *ἐκκλησιά*, *φωτιά*, hardly prevails at all in Italy.

INFLEXIONS.—In these the most marked peculiarity is the loss of final consonants, which is probably attributable in great measure to the influence of Italian. In Modern Greek *ν* is constantly dropped at the end of the nom. and accus. sing., as *νερό* for *νερόν*, *ἄγριο* for *ἄγριον*, *τὸν κόσμο* for *τὸν κόσμον*, *τὴν θάλασσα* for *τὴν θάλασσαν*: and occasionally in verb. forms, as *ἤϋραμε* for *ἤϋραμεν* &c.: but here both *ν* and *ς* are regularly lost in all cases of nouns and persons of verbs, unless they are followed by an initial vowel, or, in the case of *ν*, by a guttural. Considerable confusion has thus been introduced into the inflexions; *e.g.* *λόγου* stands for gen. sing., and accus. plur., *ἀγάπη* for nom. accus., and gen. sing., *γράφει* for 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. On the other hand, not only *ν*, but also *ς* is occasionally interposed to prevent hiatus between words; and in the gen. plur. in Otr. the *ς* has come to be usually attached to the form, when it is followed by an initial vowel, the *ν* having been previously lost, as *τῶς ἀπεσαμμένω* for *τῶν ἀποθαμμένων*. The article has especially suffered in this way, because throughout its declension it has frequently lost also the initial *τ*: hence *τό* and *τόν* are both corrupted into *ὁ*, and thus become indistinguishable from *ὁ*, since here, as elsewhere in Modern Greek, the sound of the aspirate is lost. Both in Otr. and Bov. much irregularity has crept into the use of the gender of the article, the masc. and neut. being often confused, as *τὸ καιρό* (nom.) for *ὁ καιρός*, *τὸν γαῖμα* for *τὸ αἶμα* (accus.). The dative case is lost, and has usually been replaced by the genitive, as *σοῦ ἔστειλε*, 'he sent to you'; more rarely by the accusative with a preposition. Verbs with vowel-stems generally insert a consonant (which in the majority of cases is *ν*) after the stem in the present tense; as *κλάνω* for

κλάω, κλείνω for κλείω, περάνω for περάω, ἀπανταίνω for ἀπαντάω. This feature, which is of common occurrence in Greece, is especially prevalent in the dialect of Bova, but it applies less to verbs in -εω than to other contract verbs; these however have not retained their original form, but in most cases have changed into -αω, as ζητάω (ζητέω), φιλάω (φιλέω), ἀκολουθάω (ἀκολουθέω). Italian verbs, when they are imported or borrowed, as they have been in large numbers, generally take the termination in -εω (pronounced *eguo*), as penseω (*pensò*), λοδεύω (*lodò*),adoreύω (*adorò*); a small number take -αζω, as mugghiάζω (*muggiò*).

WORDS.—The negative, which in M.G. is δέν (οὐδέν), in Bov. takes the forms of δέν, δέ, έν and ζ, while in Otr. it is only found as ζ, and έν before vowels. In both dialects 'neither—nor,' is expressed by δέ—δέ, and the prohibitive particle is μή, μήν. 'No one' is τίσπο, *i.e.* τίς ποτε, the interrogative being used for the negative: it is natural to suppose that this form must once have existed in M.G., since the neuter of the same, τίποτε, is the regular word for 'nothing' in that language. Otr. ιτου, Bov. ωτου, 'thus,' are from οὗτω, and in this way are probably connected with M.G. ετзи for ούτωςί: while Otr. ιτου, Bov. ετου, 'here,' are from αὐτου, and thus are probably connected with M.G. εδώ. Otr. αφσε, Bov. αζε, 'from,' is possibly a combination of από and ες, or perhaps a corruption of εξ. Both use γιά, a common dialectic M.G. form of διά, which in Otr. sometimes is lengthened into γιάι: this is to be distinguished from γιαί, 'because,' which is for M.G. διατί (= διότι). The change in the meaning of words from that which they bear in ancient and modern Greek is often instructive. Both in Otr. and Bov. μελετω is used for 'I read'; thus it is said of a letter, δός το του servo σου ν' δ μελετήση, 'give it to thy servant that he may read it.' Φωτία, M.G. for 'fire,' is here used almost invariably in the sense of 'anguish.' Otr. σώζω, Bov. σώνω, means 'I am able.' Κούω (ἀκούω) is used for 'I feel'; thus in Bov. κούω ψυχράδα means 'I feel cold'; and, in an Otr. version of the *Stabat Mater*, Πόση doglia εις τη καρδιά Γιαί δ παιδίν ήκουσε έσύ; signifies, 'How great sorrow did'st thou feel in thy heart for thy Son?'

*Peculiarities of the Dialect of the Terra d'Otranto.*

SOUNDS.—(1) The consonants κ, γ, τ, δ, β, ν, are frequently lost between vowels; *e.g.* κ in πλέω for πλέκω, στέω for στέκω: γ in αλιο for ολίγον, ρήα for ρήγας, 'king,' μέα for μέγας, πάο for πάγος, 'ice'; τ in τόα for τότε, τουο for τουτο, άκούο for κάτω, γιαί for διατί: δ in δίω for δίδω (δίδωμι), βράν for βράδυ, 'evening,' αλάι for ελάδιον (M.G. λάδι) 'oil'; β in πρόατα for πρόβατα, φών for φόβον, κρούατι for κρεβάτι, 'bed'; ν in άπάου for έπάνω, κείο for εκείνο, κανέα for κανένα, 'any one.' (2) γ becomes β in έβώ for έγώ, τραβουδω for τραγουδω, 'I sing.' (3) θ becomes τ, when initial, as τέλω for θέλω, τάλασσα for θάλασσα, τάνατο for θάνατος, τεό for θεός, τέιο for θεός, 'uncle'; and also in various internal combinations, as ηρτε for ηλθε, πεττερά for πενθερά, έσκήστη for έσχίσθη: between vowels it becomes s, as λισάρι for λιθάριον, αλησινό for αληθινός, άπέσανε for άπέθανε: in χνατέρα for θυγατέρα

initial  $\theta$  has become  $\chi$ . (4) The combination of  $\phi$  with other consonants is of frequent occurrence; thus  $\phi\sigma$  stands for  $\nu\sigma$ , as  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\omega$  for  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\omega$ : also for  $\xi$ , as  $\phi\sigma\eta\rho\acute{o}$  for  $\xi\eta\rho\acute{o}$ ,  $\phi\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ : and for  $\psi$ , as  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\eta\lambda\acute{o}$  for  $\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\lambda\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\sigma\epsilon$  for  $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon$ ,  $\phi\sigma\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  for  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ . Again,  $\phi\tau$  stands for  $\kappa\tau$ , as  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi\tau\alpha$  for  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha$ ,  $\acute{o}\phi\tau\acute{\omega}$  for  $\acute{o}\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$ : also for  $\chi\theta$ , as  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\acute{\epsilon}$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ . Also  $\phi\nu$  stands for  $\kappa\nu$ , as  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\phi\nu\omega$  for  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\nu\omega$  ( $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\nu\upsilon\mu\iota$ ). (5) The loss of internal consonants has sometimes involved the loss of entire syllables, as  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$  for  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ ,  $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  for  $\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\omega$ ,  $\pi\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$  for  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}$  for  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}$  (the Eucharist).

INFLEXIONS.—In the verb  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota$  the forms most in use are pres. 3rd. sing.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon$ , which becomes also  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}$ : 3rd plur.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon$ , which becomes  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ : imperf. 3rd sing.  $\acute{\eta}\nu\upsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$ : 3rd plur.  $\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\nu\epsilon$ . In two of the verbs which in classical Greek form aor. 1 active in  $-\kappa\alpha$ , that form has been retained both in Otr. and Bov.; viz.  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\kappa\alpha$  (A.G.  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha$ ) from  $\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\eta\mu\iota$ ), and  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha$  (A.G.  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$ ) from  $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$  ( $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$ ); whereas in Greece they have become  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\sigma\alpha$ . It is probably on the analogy of these that in Otr. the aor.  $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$  is formed from  $\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$  ( $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$ ), and  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\alpha$  from  $\pi\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  ( $\pi\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\omega$ ). In the 2nd sing. imper. the  $o$  (for  $ov$ ) of aor. 1 is preserved where the word is proparoxytone, as  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\sigma\omega$ ,  $\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\omega$ ,  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\sigma\omega$ : but it is replaced by  $\epsilon$  where the word is paroxytone, as  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\phi\sigma\epsilon$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon$ . The accent of  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\epsilon}$  is preserved in the abbreviated forms  $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ , 'look,'  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , 'see,'  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ , 'say': in M.G.  $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}$  is used as an interjection, but in Bov. its plur.  $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$  is found. The absolute use of an indeclinable verb-form as a substantive is not infrequent, as  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ , 'loving,'  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\epsilon\iota$ , 'lamentation,'  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$  σου, 'thy death.' The question of the origin of this usage cannot be dissociated from that of the ordinary compound forms in Modern Greek, as  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$   $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\epsilon\iota$ , 'I shall write,'  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\theta\acute{\eta}$ , 'I have been written,' analogous to which in this dialect are the phrases with  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\omega$ , 'I am able,'  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$  (Bov.  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ) 'it can be,'  $\acute{\epsilon}$   $\mu\epsilon$   $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota$   $\delta\acute{\eta}$ , 'you cannot see me.' Coray's view of the Modern Greek forms is that they are derived from the future infin., but M. Psichari, in his essay entitled *Futur composé du Grec Moderne* (p. 43), decides that the orthography of the termination throughout is  $-\eta$ , not  $-\epsilon\iota$ , and that it is derived from the aor. subj., the form of the 3rd pers. having been in the course of time used for the other persons. If, as I believe, this is the true view, then the substantival use of the verb in this dialect must be, not as Morosi thinks (*Studi*, p. 137), a survival of the infinitive, but a further adaptation of the fixed subjunctive form.

*Peculiarities of the Dialect of Bova.*

SOUNDS.— $\zeta$  (pronounced  $d\zeta$ ) frequently takes the place of  $\xi$  and  $\psi$ : as  $\zeta\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  for  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\acute{o}\zeta\omega$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon\zeta\epsilon$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon$ , and  $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$  for  $\psi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$ , 'a lie,'  $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  for  $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ .  $\theta$  almost always retains its original sound, whether at the beginning or in the middle of a word; but in a few instances, when initial, it becomes  $\chi$ , as  $\chi\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\omega}$  for  $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\omega}$ , 'I believe,'  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$  for  $\theta\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$  ( $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$ ): and in  $\phi\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}$  for  $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}$  it becomes  $\phi$ . The combination  $\sigma\tau$  is of very frequent occurrence, as  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$  for  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$ ,  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha$  for  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha$ ,  $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$  for



κτένι, 'comb,' ἐστέ for ἐχθές, δεστέρα for δευτέρα, ἀστεντία for αὐθεντία—the last of which words is used in courteous address (ἀστεντία σα, 'your honour'), thus corresponding to the M.G. title αὐθέντης, whence comes the Turkish *efendi*. In these instances στ represents πτ, κτ, χθ, υτ, υθ; but in every case there was an intermediate sound φτ, from which στ is derived.

INFLEXIONS.—In the verb, the classical form of the 3rd plur. pres, which is lost in M.G. and Otr., is here preserved; e.g. from γράφω, M.G. γράφουν or γράφουνε, Otr. γράφουνε, Bov. γράφουσι. This form also survives in the dialect of Siphnos, Naxos, and Santorin.<sup>1</sup> In the same person of the aor. the termination, which in M.G. and Otr. is -αν or -ανε, in Bov. is -αι; e.g. M.G. ἔγραψαν or ἔγράψανε, Otr. ἐγράψανε, Bov. ἐγράψαῖ. Now, since in the islands just mentioned the same part of the verb is -ασι—a form which is found also in the language of the Mainotes in the south of the Morea,<sup>2</sup> and in mediaeval Greek<sup>3</sup>—it is reasonable to suppose that the inflexion used at Bova is a corruption of this.

In speaking of the songs composed by these Italian Greeks, of which such extensive collections now exist, we may remark at starting that they bear no resemblance to the ballads and other popular poetry of modern Greece. This is the more remarkable because in every other region where Greeks are found—throughout the length and breadth of Greece, and in places as remote from one another as Cyprus, Samothrace, and Corsica—there are poems bearing the same features, and relating either to the same or to closely cognate subjects; nay, in some cases identical with one another, if allowance be made for differences produced by oral transmission. Here, however, we find no pastoral idylls, no stories turning on stirring incidents in war or brigandage, none which refer to the triumphs of Charon, the god of death—themes which are of constant occurrence in the mother country.<sup>4</sup> The long ballad metre, or *political* verse, in which the mediaeval Greek compositions, from the eleventh century onwards, were composed, and which is still the favourite measure in Greece, is unrepresented, except in a few fragments and distichs; nor is there any trace of the influence of the more elaborate rhyming metres, which in the course of the last four centuries the Greeks have borrowed from the Italians. The form of the poems on sacred subjects is derived from the religious songs of the Western Church, such as the *Stabat Mater* and *Dies Irae*, of both of which Italian Greek versions exist; in fact, these compositions probably are all either translations or adaptations. The longer of them comprise from twelve to thirty stanzas of four lines each either in iambic or trochaic metre, the second and fourth lines rhyming; and these lines are made up, sometimes of six or seven, sometimes of eight or nine syllables: but, in order that the metre of the verse may be preserved, it

<sup>1</sup> Mullach, *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprache*, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhard Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. S.* vol. iv. p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> For a further account of the Romaic ballads I may refer to a chapter on that subject in my *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. pp. 224 foll.

is often necessary that vowels should be elided, or syllables allowed to coalesce, in pronunciation. The love-songs—which form the bulk both of the Otranto and Bova collections, but in the latter district are almost the only existing kind of poetry—are usually composed of one or more stanzas of eight lines of ten or eleven syllables, in iambic metre. In these the rhymes are sometimes alternate throughout, but sometimes alternate in the first six lines, while the two last rhyme with one another. Some, however, are composed of six or of ten lines. The thoughts and sentiments which they contain, as well as their metrical form, correspond to those of the Italian love-songs of Apulia and Calabria, numerous specimens of which are given by Casetti and Imbriani in their *Canti Popolari delle Provincie Meridionali*; indeed, the amatory poems of Bova are for the most part imitations or paraphrases of these. To some extent the same thing is true of those of the Terra d'Otranto; but they possess much greater originality and variety, and are frequently shown to be the outcome of genuine feeling by their tender and impassioned expressions. Still, but few of them are devoid of some idea or phrase, the *naïveté* of which borders on bathos, so that it is difficult to select specimens which are thoroughly suitable for translation.

A third class of compositions, in addition to the religious and amatory poems, is formed by the dirges. These are made up of poetical similitudes and other commonplaces, many of which belong to a common stock, the inheritance of successive generations of professional mourners. They are sung over the bier during the interval between a person's death and his funeral, and the mode of proceeding on such an occasion—to judge from the account which Morosi has given<sup>1</sup>—seems to correspond to what Fauriel<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Bent<sup>3</sup> have described as taking place in similar ceremonies in Greece. The idea that the custom is an inheritance from the mother country, though the songs themselves are not so, is confirmed by the word which is used in Greece to describe it—*μοιρολογῶ* or *μυριολογῶ*—being found here also,<sup>4</sup> and the practice itself is unknown to the neighbouring Italians. These mourners are everywhere females; and at Sternatia, I was informed, there are still a few old women who sing these dirges at funerals. At Bova, however, the custom is unknown. They are supposed to be extemporised; and consequently, from the greater regularity of the metre of those which are given in Morosi's collection, we may conclude that we find them there in a somewhat more polished form than the original one. Frequently dialogues are introduced into them—between the wife and her dead husband, or the mother and her dead child; and sometimes Death is represented as interlocutor, as Charon is in the ballads in Greece. Some of these features will be traced in the following passage, which consists of three out of twelve stanzas of a mother's lament over her dead daughter.

<sup>1</sup> *Studi*, pp. 93, 94.

<sup>3</sup> *The Cyclades*, pp. 217 foll.

<sup>2</sup> *Chants Populaires de la Grèce*, vol. i. p. cxxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Morosi, *Studi*, p. 54. No. 126. l. 4. (ὡς μοιρολόισι = ὡς μυριολογήσῃσι).

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 9: from the town of Martano.)

- Αρτε ποῦ σε χῶσα, checcia μου,  
 τίς σου στρώνει ὁ κροβατάκι ;  
 Μοῦ τὸ στρώνει ὁ μαῦρο τάνατο  
 γιὰ μία νύφτα ποδδὺ μάλη.  
 5 Τίς σου φτιάζει ἃ capetάλια  
 νὰ ᾗ νὰ πλώση τρυφερά ;  
 Μοῦ τὰ φτιάζει ὁ μαῦρο τάνατο  
 μ' ἃ λισάρια τὰ φσηρά.
- 10 Ἔχει νά με κλάφση, checcia μου,  
 ἔχει νά με νοματίση.  
 'ς τ' abbesogna σου μ' ἤσελε,  
 'τοῦ 'ς τὸ petto μου νὰ κουμβήση.  
 Χυατεpedda, χυατεpedda μου,  
 τόσον ὥρηα γενομένη,  
 15 τί καρδιά ποῦ κάνει ἡ μάνα σου  
 νά σε δῇ ἀπεσαμμένη ;
- 20 Τίς ἐσέα φσυννᾶ, χυατέρα μου,  
 μόντι ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἀφσηλή :  
 Ἐτοῦ κάου ἐ πάνταν ὕπουνο  
 πάντα νύφτα σκοτεινή.  
 Τ' ἦαν' ὥρηα τούη χυατέρα μου,  
 μόντι μου ἔβγη 'ς τὴ cantata.  
 Spiandurίζανε αἱ colonne  
 καὶ derlampριζε ὅλη ἡ στράτα.

#### TRANSLATION.

'Now that they have buried thee, my darling, who will make thy little bed?' 'My bed, dark Death makes it for me, for a long, long night.' 'Who will arrange thy pillows, that thou mayest be able to sleep softly?' 'Dark Death arranges them for me with the bare stones.'

'Thou must weep for me, my darling, thou must call me by my name; in thy troubles thou wert wont to desire me, that thou mightest lean here upon my breast. My dear daughter, my dear daughter, that wert so beautifully formed; what must thy mother's feelings be at seeing thee dead!

'Who will wake thee, my daughter, when the day is high?' 'Here below there is evermore sleep, evermore murky night.' 'How beautiful was this my daughter, when she went forth to the high mass! then the columns gleamed, and all the street was filled with light.'

NOTES.—Line 1. *Ἄπρε*, for *ἄπρι*, which is also found; *χῶσα*, for *ἔχωσαν*, from *χώνω* (*χώννυμι*); *chercia*, a word not found either in M.G. or Italian; the meaning is ‘little.’ 2. *δ*, for *τό*; *κροβατάκι*, dimin. of *κροβάτι* (= *κρεβάτιον*). 4. *ποδάδὺ μάλῃ*, for *πολλὴ μεγάλην*. 5. *φτιάξει*, for *εὐθιάξει*; *ἀ*, for *τά*. 6. *ῆ*, for *ἐχης*; *πλώση*, for *πλαγίωσης*, from *πλαγώνω*. ‘I lie down’ (M. G. *πλαγιάζω*). 8. *ἀ λισάρια*, for *τὰ λιθάρια*; *φσηρά*, for *ξηρά*. 9. *ἔχει νά*, for *ἔχεις νά*, ‘thou hast to’; *κλάφση*, for *κλαύσης*. 10. *νοματίση*, for *ὀνοματίσης*. 11. *ἤσελε*, for *ἤθελες*. 12. *τοῦ*, for *ἐτοῦ* or *ἰτοῦ* (= *αἰτοῦ*); *κουμβήση*, for M. G. *ἀκουμβήσης* (Lat. *adcumbere*). 13. *χυατεpedda*, for *θυγατέρα*, with S. Italian dimin. termination. 14. *ῶρηα*, for *ώραία*; *γενομένη*, part. of *γένομαι* (*γίγνομαι*), only used passively, in the sense of ‘made’ ‘done.’ 15. *κάνει*, for *κίμνει*. 16. *δῆ*, for *ἴδη*; *ἀπεσαμμένη*, for *ἀπεθαμμένην*, from *ἀπεθαίνω* (*ἀποθνήσκω*). 17. *έσέα*, for *έσένα*; *φσυννά*, for *έξυπνά*. 18. *μότι*, perhaps for *ἅμα ὅτι*; *ἐν*, for *ἐνε*, as also is *ε* in the next line; *ἀφσηλή*, for *ἰψηλή*. 19. *κάου*, for *κάτω*; *πάνταν*, for *πάντοτε*, with *ν* epheleusticon to prevent hiatus; *ὑπουνω*, for *ὑπνος*. 21. *τούη*, for *τούτη*. 22. *ἔβγη*, 2<sup>nd</sup> aor. from M.G. *βγαίνω*, by metath. for *ἐκβαίνω*.

It is noticeable with regard to these dirges—and the same thing is true of those of Modern Greece<sup>1</sup>—that the conception of death which they imply is purely pagan. In all of them the tomb is conceived of, not as a place of rest, but as a joyless abode, where the dead is oppressed by the gravestone that lies over him: there is no thought of a future state, or of rewards and punishments; the one prevailing feeling is that of regret for the loss of temporal enjoyments, which the departed has to suffer.

The specimens of the literature of these Greeks of South Italy which I subjoin consist of five poems and one story from the Terra d'Otranto, and two poems, some verses of a translation of the story of Joseph and his brethren, and a number of proverbs from the district of Bova. The former of these sets, which is by far the more important, contains one sacred song, two relating to the subject of love, and two others in a lighter vein; the latter comprises one love-poem, and another on the subject of the redbreast. As these compositions have been transmitted orally by the people who possess them, without being committed to writing, it was natural that those who collected them should write them down phonetically in Roman characters; and Professors Morosi and Pellegrini, with whom linguistic accuracy was rightly the first consideration, have printed them thus in their publications. Still, it seems a little hard that the Greek language, wherever found, and however corrupted, should not be written in Greek; and for this reason, and still more because the difficulty of understanding the words is increased two-fold by the unfamiliarity of their appearance in a Roman dress, I have transcribed them in Greek characters. I have also in each case added an English translation, either in prose or verse, and notes to explain the peculiar forms of the words, though I am obliged to assume that my readers possess an elementary knowledge of Modern Greek. By this means, and by the aid of the hints on the language already given, I trust that these specimens may become intelligible. It will be observed that Italian words are occasionally interspersed among the Greek ones; this has arisen in some cases from their having been permanently embodied in the language; but more often, in all

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks on this subject in *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. p. 323.

probability, it has been the result of substitution in the course of singing, when the original word has been forgotten. The process has gone further in the Bova songs than in the others; and in some of these the Italian words seem to have been purposely introduced, for in one we find Italian rhymes alternating with Greek ones, in another all the rhyming words are Italian, and in a third the entire lines are alternately Greek and Italian.<sup>1</sup>

*Specimens of the Poems &c. of the Terra d' Otranto.*

I.

A LAMENT AT THE TOMB OF CHRIST.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 95: from Corigliano.)

- |    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
| 1. | Τίς κλαίει, τίς κλαίει 'ς τὸ νῆμα<br>ποῦ κλείνει τὸ Κριστό ;<br>ὁ Κύρη ὁλῶς ἀπέσανε<br>μ' ἃ χέρια εἰς τὸ σταυρό. |    |
| 2. | 'Ο ἥλιο ἀμπὶ 'ς τὸ φέγγο<br>ἐβάρτη νὰ μὴν δῇ,<br>καὶ ὁ μεσημέρι νύφτα<br>ἐγέττη ἄνου 'ς τὴν γῆ.                  | 5  |
| 3. | 'Ο κόσμο ὅλο τρεμάζει<br>γιαῖ ὁ πόνο ποῦ νοῶ,<br>καὶ ἡ τάλασσα mugghiάζει,<br>καὶ ἐσείουτται τὰ νερά.            | 10 |
| 4. | 'Εσκίστη εἰς δύο μέρη<br>τῆς ἰγλησία ὁ πανί,<br>σάππου τὶ ἔλε, 'Κλάψετε,<br>τὶ ὁλοὺς ὁλοὺς πονεῖ.                | 15 |
| 5. | Πλέο ἐ κούει νὰ τραβουδήσου<br>πουλλά γιαῖ ὁ καιρὸ,<br>ποῦ ἰκάνει τόσον ἄσχημο,<br>γιαῖ ἀπέσανε ὁ Κριστό.        | 20 |
| 6. | Καὶ mancu ἃ πρόατα ὁ λύγο<br>γιαῖ φῶν ἱκανονεῖ,<br>καὶ κείνα πλέον ἐν ἔχουνε<br>δὲ χόρτα δὲ μανδρί.              |    |
| 7. | 'Εβγήκα ὅλα τ' ἀφσάρια<br>ἀπόφσου ἃ τὸ νερό,<br>καὶ ὅλοι ἱλέου, 'Τοῦ κόσμου<br>ἦρτε ὁ καταλυμό.                  | 25 |
| 8. | Καὶ ἡ ἰγλησία μᾶς δείφτει  |    |

<sup>1</sup> Comparetti, *Saggi*, Nos. 21, 18, 33.

- τὸ πόνου ποῦ νοῶ 30  
 μὲ ἢ pissa ποῦ σημαίνει,  
 μ' artaria ποῦ εἶ γυννιά.
9. Καὶ ὅλοι οἱ πατέροι ἰκάνουνε  
 τὴ λύπη μ' ἢ φωνή,  
 καὶ, 'Κλάφσετε,' μᾶς λέουνε 35  
 'τὸ Κύρη, Κριστιανοί.'
10. Καὶ οἱ Κριστιανοὶ ἐ κλαίουνε  
 'ς τὸ νῆμα τοῦ Κριστοῦ ;  
 ἀδέρφιά μου, δελάτε,  
 νὰ κλάφσωμ' ὅλοι ἱτοῦ. 40
11. Γιαί 'ν ἁμαρτία μᾶ 'πέσανε  
 βαρμένον εἰς τὸ σταυρό·  
 ἡμεῖ κείνη τὴ κάμαμο  
 ποῦ offendεψε δὲ Τεό.
12. Καὶ ἡ μάνα ἡ πονημένη 45  
 ποῦ στέει καὶ κανονεῖ  
 εἰς τὸ σταυρὸ ποῦ ὑπέσανε  
 τὸ ἀκαπητὸ παιδί·
13. Σάππου τὶ μᾶς φωνάζει  
 καὶ ἱλέει, 'Δελάτ' ἱτοῦ,  
 δελάτε καὶ γυρέφσετε  
 φσιχώρη τοῦ Τεοῦ.' 50
14. Φσιχώρησι φσιχώρησι  
 γυρέωμε, Κριστιανοί,  
 κείνο μὴ κάωμε πλέο 55  
 ποῦ κάμαμο ἄρτε ἀμπί.
15. Τὸ κλάφσει καὶ το πόνου  
 τέλει ὁ Κριστὸ 'φσ' ἐμᾶ·  
 καὶ ἂ πάντα ἰκάωμε ἱτου  
 μᾶς δεῖ 'ν eternità. 60

## TRANSLATION.

1. Who weeps, who weeps at the sepulchre which encloses Christ? The Lord of all has died with his hands upon the cross.

2. The sun hid (*lit.* placed) itself behind the moon that it might not see, and the midday became night over the earth.

3. The whole universe shudders from the suffering that it feels, and the sea roars, and its waters are agitated.

4. The vail of the temple was rent in twain, as though it said, 'Lament, for all are afflicted.'

5. No longer can you hear the birds sing because of the sky, which is so overcast (*lit.* the weather which is so bad) since Christ is dead.

6. And from terror not even does the wolf regard the sheep; and they no longer have either pasture or a fold.

7. All the fishes came forth from the water, and all men say, 'The dissolution of the universe has arrived.'

8. And the Church declares to us the suffering that it feels, by the pyx which gives a sound (from being empty), by the altars which are bare.

9. And all the priests express their sorrow with their voices, and say to us, 'Christians, lament the Lord.'

10. And shall not Christians lament at the sepulchre of Christ? Come, my brethren, that we may all lament here.

11. For our sin he died, fixed on the cross; it was we who committed that sin which offended God.

12. And lo, the suffering mother, who stands and looks at the cross, on which her beloved Son died:

13. Even as if she called to us and said, 'Come hither, come and seek forgiveness from God.'

14. Forgiveness, forgiveness, ye Christians, let us seek; let us do no more what we have done hitherto.

15. Lamentation and affliction is what Christ desires of us; and if we act always thus, he will bestow on us eternity.

NOTES.—Line 1. **νήμα**, for **μνήμα**. 2. **κλείνει**, for **κλείει**; **Κριστό**, for **Χριστόν**; in a few words, of which this and **ἔρχομαι** are the most important, the aspiration of **χ** is lost. 3. **Κύρη**, for **Κίρης** (= **Κίριος**); **ὀλῶς**, for **ὀλων**, **ς** being affixed after **ν** is lost; **ἀπέσανε**, for **ἀπέθανε**. 4. **ἄ**, for **τά**. 5. **ἀμπί**, for **ὀπίσω**; **φέγγο**, for **Μ. G.** and **Βον. φεγγάρι**. 6. **ἐβάρτη**, for **ἐβάλλη**, aor. pass. from **βάλλω**, 'I put, place'; **μὴν δῆ**, for **μὴ ἴδη**. 8. **ἐγέττη**, for **ἐγένθη**, aor. pass. from **γένομαι** (**γίνομαι**). 10. **γιαῖ**, for **διὰ**; **ὁ πόνο**, for **τὸν πόνον**. 12. **ἐσείοντται**, for **εσείονται**. 13. **ἐσκίστη**, for **ἐσχίσθη**. 14. **ἰγλησία**, for **ἐκκλησία**. 15. **σάππου τι**, for **ὥσάν ποῦ ὅτι**; **ἄλε**, for **ἔλεγε**; **κλάψετε**, for **κλαύσατε**. 17. **ξ**, for **δέν**; **κούει**, for **ἀκούεις**; **τραβου-δῆσου**, for **τραγουδήσουν**. 18. **πουddia**, for **πουλία**, 'birds' (Lat. *pullus*). 19. **ικάνει**, for **κάμνει**; **κάμνει ἄσχημο καιρό** = *il fait mauvais temps*. 20. **γιαῖ**, for **διὰ** (= **διότι**). 21. **maneu**, for **nemmanco**, **nemmeno**; **ἄ πρόατα**, for **τὰ πρόβατα**; **λύγο**, for **λύκος**. **φῶν**, for **φόβον**; **ικανονεῖ**, for **κανονεῖ**; but whether **κανονῶ** is a corruption of **κατανοῶ**, or is derived from **κανών**, meaning 'I look straight at,' is uncertain. 23. **ἐν ἔχουνε**, for **δέν ἔχουν**. 24. **δὲ—δὲ**, 'neither—nor.' 25. **ἐβγήκα**, for **ἐβγήκαν**, 2 aor. of **βγαίνω** (**ἐκβαίνω**) with the **M.G.** passive aor. termination in **-κα** suffixed; **ἀφσάρια**, for **M.G. ψάρια** (from **ὀψάριον**). 26. **ἀπόφσου ἄ**, for **ἀπ' ἔξω ἀπό**. 27. **ιλέου**, for **λέγουν**. 29. **δείφτει**, for **M. G. δείχτει** (**δείκνυσι**). 31. **pissa**, for **Ital. pisside**. 32. **artaria**, for **altaria**; **εἰ**, for **εἶνε**; **γυννά**, for **γυμνά**. 33. **ικάνουνε**, for **κάμνουν**. 34. **ἦ**, for **τήν**. 39. **ἀδέρφια**, for **ἀδελφία**; **δελάτε**, for **M. G. ἐλάτε**. 41. **ἡ ἁμαρτία μᾶ**, for **τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μᾶς**. 42. **βαρμένο**, for **βαλμένος**, perf. pass. participle from **βάλλω**. 43. **κάαμο**, for **ἐκάμμεν**. 44. **ὁ Τεό**, for **τὸν Θεόν**. 46. **στέι**, for **στέκει**. 48. **ἀκαπητό**, for **ἀγαπητόν**; the change of **γ** into **κ** in this word is peculiar to the dialects of Corigliano and Castrignano. 51. **γυρέψετε**, for **γυρεύσατε**; **γυρεύω** (**γυρός**) means in **A. G.** 'I go round,' in **M. G.** 'I go round, look round, seek for.' 52. **φσιχώρη**, an abbreviation of **φσιχώρησι** (= **συγχώρησιν**) in the next line. 55. **κάωμε**, for **κάμνωμεν**. 56. **ἄρτε ἀμπί**, for **ἄρτι ὀπίσω**, 'now in the past.' 57. **κλάψει**, substantival use of indeclinable verb-form. 58. **τέλει**, for **θέλει**; **ῥσ' ἐμά**, for **ἄφσε ἐμᾶς**. 58. **ἄ**, for **ἄν**; **πάντα**, for **πάντοτε**; **ἴτου**, for **οὔτω**. 60. **δεῖ**, for **δίδει** (**δίδωσι**); **ῥν**, for **τήν**.

## II.

## THE DYING LOVER'S INJUNCTIONS.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 80: from *Calimera*.)

- "Ανε πεσάνω τέλω νά με κλάφση  
     escappeddata μέσα 'ς τὴν αὐλή,  
 καὶ σῦρε τὰ μαddία σου ἄφσε μαδάφσι,  
     καὶ κούμβα μού τα πάνου 'ς τὴ φσυχή.  
 5 Τόσο με πέρνουν ἐς τὴν ἀγλησία,  
     κολούσα, ἀγάπη μου, σὲ παραγαλῶ,  
 καὶ βλέφσε νά μου νάφσου τὰ κηρία  
     ἄνου 'ς τὸ νῆμα ποῦ 'χω νὰ χωσῶ.  
 Καὶ ροὶ 'ς τὸ χρόνο πέ μου μία λουτρία,  
 10 καὶ ροὶ 'ς τοῦ δύο κανένα Πάτρεμον,  
 καὶ τὴν ἡμέρα τῶς ἀπεσαμμένω  
 invia μου 'να suspiro καῦμένο.  
     τόσο ποῦ ὅλα τοῦα τὰ 'χεις γανομένα,  
     νοῖφσε τὸ νῆμα κ' ἔμβα ἐκεῖ μὰ 'μένα.

## TRANSLATION.

- Love, when I die, I will that thou bewail me  
     Down in the court-yard with uncover'd head,  
 And with the mantle of thy tresses veil me  
     Over my heart in silken folds outspread.  
 5 When to the holy Church my corpse they carry,  
     I pray thee follow in the mourners' line,  
 And o'er the grave, where thy true love they bury,  
     See that the funeral tapers duly shine.  
 When one year's past let mass be celebrated,  
 10 And after two years chant a litany;  
 And when the Spirits are commemorated  
     Breathe burning sighs in memory of me.  
 When these kind offices accomplished are,  
 Open the tomb, and come my grave to share.

NOTES.—1. "Ανε πεσάνω, for ἂν ἀποθάνω. 2. escappeddata, for scappeilata; μέσα 'ς, 'within.' 3. σῦρε, 'draw out'; here, probably, 'tear out'; μαddία, for μαλλία, 'hair'; ἄφσε μαδάφσι, 'of silk'; μαδάφσι is M.G. μετάξιον (μέταξα), 'silk.' 4. κούμβα, imper. of κουμβέω (ἀκουμβέω), 'I lean,' here used transitively; πάνου 'ς, for ἐπάνω εἰς, 'over'; φσυχή, for ψυχήν. 5. τόσο, = A. G. ἐν ὅσῳ, 'while.' 6. κολούσα, for ἀκολοῖθα, from ἀκολουθάω (ἀκολουθέω); παραγαλῶ, for παρακαλῶ. 7. νάφσου, for ἀνάψουν. 8. νῆμα, for μνήμα; 'χω νὰ χωσῶ, ἔχω νὰ χωθῶ, 'I must be buried.' 9. ροὶ 'ς τὸ χρόνο, 'after the year'; πέ, for εἰπέ; λουτρία, for λειτουργίαν, 'Eucharistic service.' τοῦ, for τοῖς; κανένα 'some, several' (prob.



καὶ ἐὰν ζῇ); Πάτρεμου, 'Pater-nosters.' 11. τῶς ἀπεσαμμένω, for τῶν ἀποθαμμένων; the 'Day of the Dead' is All Souls' Day. 12. καυμένο, participle of καίω. 13. τοῦα, for τοῦτα (ταῦτα); 'χες γανομένα, 'you have done'; γανομένα is another form of γενομένα. 14. νοῖφσε, for ἀνοιξε; μά, for μέ, 'with.'

## III.

## THE DESERTED LOVER'S IMPRECATION.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 119: from Corigliano.)

Turtura μότε ἰχάνει ἡ cumpagnia  
 μανιχέdda τη πάει μαγραῖο καιρό·  
 ἐν accucchiέται mai μ' ἄdda πουddία,  
 mancu ἰκαίζει εἰς τ' arvulo χλωρό·  
 5 δὲ πόσο ποῦ τῆς μαύρισε ἡ καρδιά·  
 ἐ πίνει ἂν δὲ ἐνε trubbo τὸ νερό.  
 'Ο Κριστὸ κείτη turtura νά σε κάμη·  
 μὲ τῇ καρδιά καμμένη νὰ πεσάνη.  
 καὶ κείνη turtura νὰ σὺ γεττῇ·  
 10 μὲ τῇ καρδιά καμμένη νὰ χωσῇ.

## TRANSLATION.

The dove that is deserted by her mate  
 In solitude abides the live-long day;  
 Far from her fellows dwells she desolate,  
 Nor even perches on the verdant spray:  
 5 See how her soul is darkened by her fate!  
 In turbid streams her thirst she doth allay.  
 Like that sad bird may Christ the righteous make thee;  
 With heart all flame may Death the avenger take thee;  
 Like that sad bird distraught may'st thou become;  
 10 With heart all flame descend into the tomb.

NOTES.—1. μότε, like μότι, for ἅμα ὅτι, 'when'; ἰχάνει, for χάνει, 'loses'; ἡ, for τήν. 2. μανιχέdda, for μανιχή (μοναχή), with dimin. termination -edda for -ella; μανιχή τη(ς) is used, like μόνος του, μόνη της in M. G. for 'by herself'; πάει, M. G. for 'goes' (ὑπάγει); μαγραῖο, for μακρόν. 3. ἐν, for δέν; so ἐ in l. 6; accucchiέται, from accucciarsi, 'to nestle'; ἄdda πουddία, for ἄλλα πουλῖα, 'other birds.' 4. mancu, for nemmanco, 'not even'; ἰκαίζει, for καθίζει; arvulo, for albero. 5. δέ, for ἰδέ; μαύρισε, from μαυρίζω (μαῦρος, ἀμαυρός), 'I darken.' 6. 'she does not drink unless (ἂν δέ(ν)) the water is turbid.' 7. κείτη, for κείνην τήν. 8. καμμένη, like καῦμένο, participle of καίω; πεσάνη, for ἀποθάνης. 9. γεττῇ, for γενθῆς aor. pass. subj. from γένομαι (γίγνομαι). 10. χωσῇ, for χωθῆς, 'may you be buried.'

## IV.

## ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN INTENDING TO MARRY

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 120 : from Corigliano.)

ἀκάπησο, ἀκάπησο, ἂ τέλη ν' ἀκαπήση,  
 μὰ χυατεpedda 'φσ' εἴκοσι χρονό.  
 ἂν ἔχη εἴκοσιπέντε, μ' ἡ τελήση,  
 πές τη τί ἐ διαβημένο τὸ καιρό.  
 5 ἂ τέλη πιάκη ὁ ῥόδο νὰ μυρίση,  
 σῦρέ το μόντ' ἐν ἡμισ' ἀνοιφτό.

## TRANSLATION.

If you would wed, then choose  
 A maid of twenty years :  
 At twenty-five, refuse,  
 Say she too old appears :  
 5 Half-blown he culls the rose,  
 Who for its fragrance cares.

NOTES.—1. ἀκάπησο, for ἀγάπησον ; ἂ τέλη, for ἂν θέλῃς. 2. μὰ χυατεpedda, for μίαν θυγατεpeddan ; 'φσ' for ἄφσε, 'of.' 3. μ' ἡ τελήση, for μὴ τὴν θελήσῃς. 4. πές τη τί ἐ, for εἰπέ αὐτὴν ὅτι εἶνε ; διαβημένο, pass. part from διαβαίνω ; τὸ καιρό for ὁ καιρός, an instance of the neglect of the distinction of the masc. and neut. genders. 5. πιάκη, subj. of ἐπίακα, aor. from πιάω (A. G. πιάζω), 'I take' ; 6. for τό ; νὰ μυρίση, 'that it may be fragrant.' 6. σῦρε, 'draw' 'pluck' ; ἀνοιφτό, for ἀνοικτόν.

## V.

## THE SON-IN-LAW'S COMPLAINT.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 94 : from Castrignano.)

\* Ἄν ἤφσερα τί ἐπιάνω πεττερά,  
 ἐν ἀρμάζονε μαὶ κανέα καιρό.  
 ἔστεκα ἔσω μου 'ς τὰ σκοτεινά,  
 δὲ λύφνο δὲ lumera μαὶ νὰ δῶ.  
 5 ἡ πεττερά δοῦν σε τρώει καὶ πίνει  
 βγαίνει 'ς τὴν γειτονία κ' ἐσένα σύρνει.

## TRANSLATION.

If I had known that (in marrying) I was taking to me a mother-in-law—I would never have married under any circumstances:—I would have stopped at home in the dark—so as never to see either lamp or fire.—Your mother-in-law after eating and drinking at your expense—goes out among the neighbours and maligns you.

NOTES.—1. ἤφερα, imperf. from φσέρω, M. G. ἤξείρω, 'I know'; τι, for ὅτι; ἐπιάνω, for πιάνω; πεττερά, for πενθεράν. 2. ἀρμάζονε, imperf. of ἀρμάζω (ἀρμόζω), 'I marry', with prosthetic ε; so ἀρμασία is 'marriage'; κανέα for κανένα, 'any'. 3. ἔστεκα, imperf. of στέκω, 'I stand, remain'; ἔσω μου, 'chez moi.' 4. δε, —δε, 'neither,—nor'; λύφνο, for λύχνον; lumera, frequently used in this dialect for 'fire'; δῶ, for ἴδω. 5. τρώει, for τρώγει. 6. βγαίνει, for ἐκβαίνει; σύρνει, another form of σύρει, 'pulls to pieces.'

## VI.

## STORY OF THE WOMAN WHO PRAYED FOR THE KING.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' p. 73: from Martano.)

Μία φορά εἶχε μία γυναῖκα, ποῦ πάντα ἐπραγάλει τὸ Τεὸ νὰ ὁ ρῆα στασῇ καλὸ. Καὶ ἀντρώποι εἶπανε ᾽ς τὸ ρῆα τοῦτο πρᾶμα, καὶ ὁ ρῆα τὴν ἐφώνασε καὶ τὴ ρώτησε γιατί ἐπραγάλει τόσο γιὰ σαῦτο. Καὶ κείνη εἶπε, 'Ἐβὼ παραγαλῶ τὸ Τεὸ νὰ μείνης ὕγιο πάντα, γιατί ἐσὺ μᾶς ἐσcorceυσε, καὶ, ἂ πεσαίνῃ ἐσὺ, ἔρχεται ἐν ἄλλο ποῦ ἔχει νὰ χορτώσῃ τὴν πεῖνά του.'

## TRANSLATION.

There was once a woman, who prayed to God continually that the king might keep in good health. Certain men reported this matter to the king, so the king summoned her, and asked her why she prayed so much for him. And she said, 'I pray God that you may continue in life for ever, because you have flayed us, and, if you die, another will come who will have to satisfy his hunger.'

NOTES. Μία φορά, the M. G. expression for 'once'; in Bov. *ēna* viaggio is used, 'viaggio' for 'volta' being common in the S. Italian dialects; εἶχε, for the phrase cp. Fr. *il y a*, ἐπραγάλει τὸ Τεὸ, for ἐπαρακάλει τὸν Θεόν. ρῆα for ῥήγας (*rex*); στασῇ, for σταθῇ; cp. Ital. *star bene*. Καὶ, for M. G. κάτι (perhaps καὶ ἐάν τι) 'some,' 'some or other'; πρᾶμα, for πρᾶγμα; ρώτησε, for ῥώτησε; γιατί, for διατί; σαῦτο, in this word σ has got prefixed, and the accent is drawn back, as in αὐτο; ἐβὼ, for ἐγώ; ὕγιο, for ὑγίης, 'sound,' 'alive'; πάντα for πάντοτε; ἐscoyceυσε, for ἐscoyceusas, Ital. *scorticare*; πεσαίνῃ, for ἀπεθαίνῃς, from ἀπεθαίνω (ἀποθνήσκω).

*Specimens of the poems &c. of the district of Bora.*

## I.

## GOOD NIGHT.

(Morosi, 'Bora,' No. 34; cp. Pellegrini, No. 40, and Comparetti, No. 29.)

Καλὴ σπέρα σου λέγω κ' ἐγὼ πάω  
 μὰ sulo pena ᾽ς τὴν καρδιά μου πέρρω,  
 τὶ πάω λάργα ἄζε τινὸ ᾽γαπῶ,

- πάω λάργα ἄζε 'σὲ πάντα penseύω.  
 5 ἐτούντη εἰκόνι δὲ τὸ σδημονάω,  
 stampεμμένη 'ς τὸ petto μου τὴ φέρω.  
 'ς τὸν ὕπλο μου τὸ νόμα σου στριγάω,  
 νύφτα κ' ἡμέρα πάντα suspireύω.

## TRANSLATION.

- Thus bidding thee 'Good Night' I go my way;  
 Yet naught but sorrow in my heart I bear—  
 Grief, that from her I love afar I stray,  
 Afar from thee who art my constant care:  
 5 Stamped on my heart thy image dwells alway;  
 That vision from my memory ne'er can fall:  
 I ever sigh for thee by night and day:  
 E'en in my sleep upon thy name I call.

NOTES.—1. πάω, M. G. for ὑπάγω. 2. μά, the Ital. conjunction, which has long been naturalised in M. G.; πέρρω, for πέρνω, 'I take.' 3. τι, for ὅτι; λάργα, though this word is of Italian origin, yet in the form ἀλάργα it is found in M. G., and a verb ἀλαργάω, 'I remove', is derived from it; ἄζε, the same as Otr. ἀφσε, 'from'; τινό, a form used for the oblique cases of the indef. pronoun τίς; here it means 'one whom.' 5. ἐτούντη, the M. G. αὐτούνην την; this is the regular demonstrative in this dialect; δέ, for δέν; σδημονάω, by metathesis for M. G. ἐλησμονῶ, 'I forget.' 7. ὕπλο, for ὕπνον; νόμα, for ὄνομα; στριγάω, perhaps from Ital. *stridere*; Kind's *Lec.* gives a M. G. form στρίζω for τρίζω.

## II.

## THE FATE OF THE REDBREAST.

(Morosi, 'Becca,' No. 38; *cp.* Pellegrini, No. 10.)

- Ἡ πύρρρα ἔνε ὁ πλὲ κέδδι ἂν τὰ πουδδία,  
 καὶ κάνει τὴ φωλέα μὲ χουρχουράτα·  
 τὸ καλοκαίρι πάει 'κεῖ 'ς τὴν ὀξεία,  
 τὸ χειμῶνα καταιβαίνει ὧδε κάτου.  
 5 Παρεύουσι τὴ πλάκα τὰ παιδία·  
 λιμπίζεται κ' ἐμβαίνει 'κεῖ 'ποκάτου·  
 ὧτου κάνει, καὶ γιὰ ἥμισο δακία  
 ἀφίνει τὸ σκυιδάκι του ἀνουκάτου.

## TRANSLATION.

The redbreast is the smallest bird that flies;  
 He builds his little nest with tufts of hay:  
 In summer-time he to the mountain hies,  
 In winter he comes down with us to stay.

- 5 The children to entrap him springes make ;  
 He ~~is~~ enticed, and enters in beneath.  
 Poor fool ! and for a sorry morsel's sake  
 His neck is twisted and he meets his death.

NOTES.—1. *πύρρια*, in M.G. *πυρρούλας*, 'redbreast'; *ὅ*, an instance of confusion of genders in the article; *πλέ*, for *πλέον*; *κέδδι*, an abbreviation of *μικέδδι*, 'little,' which is perhaps a corruption of *μικρός*: Comparetti (p. 94) points out that *μιτζέ* bears this meaning in the Tzaconian dialect in the Peloponnese, and *μιτζής* in the dialect of Cyprus; *άν*; this is the form which *ἀπό* regularly takes with the article in Bov. 2. *κάνει*, for *κάμνει*, 'makes'; *χουρχουράτα*, probably for M.G. *χορταράκι*, dimin. from *χορτάρι*, 'grass,' 'hay' by transposition of *τ* and *κ*, and assimilation of *κ* to *χ*. 3. *καλοκαίρι*, M.G. for 'summer'; *ὄξεια*, a word for 'mountain' peculiar to this dialect, probably for *ὄξεία*, 'peak.' 4. *ὦδε κάτω* 'here below.' 5. *παρεύουσι*, Ital. *parare*, converted into a verb in *-ευνω*; remark the classical inflexion *-ουσι*; *πλάκα*, 'lid, cover of trap.' 6. *λιμπίζετα*, from M.G. *λιμπίζομαι*, 'I desire,' with subst. *λίμπισμα*, 'desire'; *κεῖ ποκάτου*, 'there underneath.' 7. *ὅτου κάνει*, for *οὕτω κάμνει*, 'so he does'; *γιά*, for *διά*; *ἥμισο δακία*, 'half a morsel.' 8. 'he leaves his poor neck topsy-turvy'; *σκυδάκι*, for *σκυλλάκι*, probably from Ital. *collo* with dimin. termination.

#### GENESIS XLV. 1—6.

(*Pellegrini*, pp. 118, 119.)

1. Τότε ὁ Gioseppi, δὲ σώνοντα κρατιστῇ πλέο ἀμπρὸ σὲ ὅλου ποῦ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ, ἐκούδδιε, 'Κάμετε πάη πασάνα λάργα ἄζ' ἐμένα.' Καὶ τίσπο ἔμεινε μεθέ του, σὰν ἐκείνο ἐδόστη ἃ conusceri τῷ λεδδιδίων του.

2. Καὶ ἐκείνο ἔβγαλε μίαν κουδδιμία κλώντα, καὶ οἱ Egiziani τότε 'κούαῖ ἐκείνοι τοῦ σπιτίου τοῦ Faraone τότε 'κούαῖ κιάλα ἐκείνοι.

3. Καὶ ὁ Gioseppi εἶπε τῷ λεδδιδίως του, 'Εγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Gioseppi· ὁ πάτρε μου ζῇ ἐκείνο ἀκομή; Μὰ τὰ λεδδιδιά του δὲν τοῦ σώναῖ ἀπολογήση, γιὰτὶ ἦσα ὅλοι σκιασμένοι ἂν τὴν presenza τὴν δικήν του.

4. Καὶ ὁ Gioseppi εἶπε τῷ λεδδιδίως του, Deh! ἔλαστε κοντά μου. Καὶ ἐκείνοι τοῦ ἰάησα κοντά. Καὶ ἐκείνο εἶπε, 'Εγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Gioseppi, ὁ λεδδέ σα τὶ ἐσεῖ ἐπουλίετε νᾶνε πηρμένο 'ς τὸν Egitto.

5. Μὰ ἄρτε μὴ πιαστήτε ἄζε λύπη, καὶ μὴ 'ncaricheστήτε διατὶ μοῦ ἐπουλίετε νᾶμαι φερμένο ὦδε· γιὰτὶ ὁ Θεὸς μ' ἔστειλε ἀμπροττέ σα γιὰ τὴν ὑγιεία σα.

6. Γιὰτὶ τοῦτο ἔνε τὸ secundo χρόνο ἂν τὴν πεῖνα ὅσου εἰς τὴ χώρα· καὶ ἔχει ἀκομή ἄδδου πέντε χρόνου, καὶ σὲ τούτου δὲν ἔχει δὲ νὰ ἀλαστή, δὲ νὰ θεριστῇ.

#### TRANSLATION.

1. Then Joseph, not being able to command himself longer before all who were there, cried, Make every one to go out from me. And no one remained with him, while he made himself known to his brethren.

2. And he uttered a cry weeping, and the Egyptians heard him; those of the house of Pharaoh, they also heard him.

3. And Joseph said to his brethren, I am Joseph; my father, doth he yet live? But his brethren were not able to answer him, for they were all afraid at his presence.

4. And Joseph said to his brethren, Pray, come near to me. And they came near to him. And he said, I am Joseph, your brother whom ye sold to be taken to Egypt.

5. But now, be not seized by grief, and be not burdened because ye sold me to be brought hither; because God sent me before you for your welfare.

6. Because this is the second year of the famine in the land, and there are yet five years, and in these there will not be either ploughing or harvest.

NOTES.—1. *σώνοντα*, indeclinable active participle from *σώνω*, 'I am able'; *κρατιστῆ*, for *κρατισθῆ*, 3rd. sing. 1 aor. pass. from *κρατίζω* (*κρατέω*) with *νά* understood; *ἀμπρὸ σέ*, for *ἐμπρὸς ἐς* 'before'; *δλου*, for *ὅλους*; *ἐκούδιε*, aor. from *κουδιδίω*, 'I cry'; so *κουδιμία*, 'cry,' below; *κάμετε*, for *κάμνετε*; *πάη* same construction as *κρατιστῆ*; *πασάνα*, for *πάσα* (indeclinable) *ἕνα*, 'every one,' fem. *πασαμία*; *μεθέ του*, *μετά* with the personal pronouns becomes *μεθέ* in this dialect, as *μεθέ μου*, *μεθέ σου*; *ἐδόστη* (for *ἐδόσθη* = *ἐδόθη*) à *consceri*, 'gave himself to be known'; *τῶ*, for *τῶν*; *λεδιδιών*, plur. of *λεδέ*, which, whatever its derivation, takes the place of *ἀδελφός* in this dialect.

2. *ἐβαλε*, aor. from *βγάλλω* (= *ἐκβάλλω*); *κλώντα*, for *κλαίοντα*, indeclinable participle; *κούαι*, for *ἀκούασι*, 3rd. plur. of aor.: *σπιτίου*, gen. of *σπίτι* (*hospitium*); *κιόλα*, from *καὶ ὅλα* 'withal'; in M. G. usually in the sense of 'for all that,' 'notwithstanding.'

3. *λεδιδιώς*, the gen. plur. terminations in *-ως* and *-ων* are equally found; *ἀκομή*, M. G. *ἀκόμη*, 'yet,' 'still'; *γιατί*, for *διὰτί* (= *διότι*); *σκιασμένοι*, 'darkened,' 'afraid'; in M. G. *σκιάζομαι* also means 'to shy,' of a horse; *τὴν δικήν του*, properly 'his own'; *δικός* is for *ειδικός*, 'proprios.'

4. *ἐλάστε*, M. G. *ἐλάτε*, plur. of *ἔλα* 'come'; *κοντά*, 'near,' from *κοντός*, 'short'; *ιάησα*, for (*ἐδ*)*ιά(β)ησα(ν)* from *διαβαίνω*, 'passed,' 'presented themselves'; *σα*, for *σας* enclitic; *τι*, indeclinable relative, used in Bov. in the same way as *ποῦ*; *ἐσεῖ*, for *ἐσεῖς*; *ἐπουλίετε*, from *ἐπούλια*, aor. of *πουλάω* (= *πωλέω*); *νάνε*, for *νά ἔνε* 'to be'; *πηρμένο*, for *παρμένο*, perf. pass. part. from *πέρνω*, 'I take.'

5. *πιαστήτε*, for *πιασθήτε*, from *πιάνω*; *ἄζε* (Otr. *ἄφσε*), 'by'; *νάμαι*, for *νά εἶμαι*; *φερμένο*, perf. pass. part. from *φέρω*; *ἀμπροττέ*, for *ἐμπροσθεν*; *ύγιεία*, 'welfare,' 'life'; so *ἔγιο* 'alive.'

6. *δσου εἰς*, for *ἔσω εἰς*, 'in'; *ἄδδου πέντε χρόνον*, for *ἄλλους πέντε χρόνους*, governed by *χει* in the sense of '*il y a*'; *σέ τούτου*, for *ἐς τούτους*, 'in these'; *δέν ἔχει δέ . . . δέ*, 'there will be neither . . . nor'; *νά ἀλαστῆ*, lit. 'that it should be ploughed'; *ἀλαστη* for *ἀλασθῆ*, from *ἀλάνω* (= *ἀρώω*).

## PROVERBS.

(*Morosi*, '*Bora*,' Nos. 75, 23, 30, 41, 120, 116, 53, 105.)

1. *Λιρὶ τὴ πουργῆ,*  
*κέντα 'ς τὴ μονή*  
*λιρὶ τὴ βραδιά,*  
*κέντα 'ς τὴν δουλεία.*

'A rainbow in the morning,—hasten to your dwelling:—A rainbow in the evening,—hasten to your work.'

(*Λιρί*, for *ἴρις*, with the accent shifted.—*πouρρη*, for *πρωινήν*.—*κέντα*, ‘spur, hasten,’ from *κεντάω* (*κεντέω*).—*βραδία*, M. G. *βράδν*.)

2. *Τὰ ξύλα τὰ στραβά, τὰ σάζει τὸ lucisi.*

‘Bent timbers are straightened by the fire.’

(*σάζει*, for *ἰσάζει*.)

3. *‘Ο σκύλλο ποῦ δὲν ἀλεστάει δαγκάνει κρυφά.*

‘The dog that does not bark bites stealthily.’

(*‘Ο σκύλλο*, M. G. *τὸ σκυλί*, but *ὁ σκύλος* is found in mediaeval Greek, and in Hesych.—*ἀλεστάει*, for *ύλακτεῖ*.)

4. *Τὶ δὲν ἔχει φούρρο δικόν του, δὲ τὸ χορταίνει τὸ ζωμί.*

‘If a man has no oven of his own, his bread does not satisfy him.’

(*Τὶ*, for *ὅστις*—*φούρρο*, M. G. *φούρνο* (Lat. *furnus*).—*ζωμί*, for *ψωμί*.)

5. *Παίξε μὲ τὸ γάδαρο, τί σε ταβρεῖ μὲ τὴν guda.*

‘Play with an ass, and he’ll hit you with his tail.’

(*γάδαρο*, M. G. for ‘ass,’ more correctly *γαῖδαρο*.—*ταβρεῖ*, by metathesis for *τραβᾷ*, ‘pull,’ ‘strike.’—*guda* for *coda*.)

6. *Τὸ βούδι κρατεῖται ἀν τὸ κέρατο, καὶ ὁ ἄθρωπο ἀν τὸ λόγο.*

‘An ox must be held by his horns, and a man by his word.’

7. *Τὶς ἐσπέρρει ’ς τὸ ἀργό,*

*τρώγει χόρτο, δὲν καρπό.*

‘He that sows untilled land, will eat grass instead of corn.’

(*ἐσπέρρει*, for M. G. *σπέρνει* (*σπείρω*).)

8. *‘Η γλώσσα στέα δὲν ἔχει, καὶ στέα κλάνει.*

‘Though the tongue has no bones, it can break bones.’

(*στέα*, for *ὀστέα*.—*κλάνει*, for *κλάει*.)

It remains now to investigate the evidence which is furnished by the language, and by historical documents, with regard to the time at which these Greeks settled in southern Italy. We have already seen that, at an early stage in the enquiry respecting the language, Prof. Pott showed that it is Modern Greek, and not a dialect derived independently from the ancient language; and this, I think, will have been clear to any one who has examined the specimens which have been given above. But it may perhaps be worth while to enumerate a few out of the very numerous words and phrases, in which the correspondence with the one, and the contrast with the other, is unmistakable. Among familiar substantives we find (allowing in some instances for a slight difference of form from Modern Greek)—for ‘water,’ not *ὔδωρ*, but *νερό*; for ‘wine,’ not *οἶνος*, but *κρασί*; for ‘bread,’ not *ἄρτος*, but *ψωμί*; for ‘a fish,’ not *ἰχθύς*, but *ψάρι*; for ‘hair,’ not *τρίχες*, but *μαλλία*; for ‘silver,’ not *ἄργυρος*, but *ἀσήμι*; for ‘summer,’ not *θέρος*, but *καλοκαίρι*; for ‘a year,’ not *ἔτος*, but *χρόνο*; for ‘a song,’ not *ὥδή*, but *τραγούδι*; for ‘the moon,’ not *σελήνη*, but *φεγγάρι*. Among adjectives, *ἄσπρο*

has taken the place of *λευκός*, *μαῦρο* of *μέλας*, *χονδρό* of *παχύς*, *κινούριο* (*καινούργιος*) of *νέος*. Among verbs, *ποιέω* and *πράσσω* are replaced by *κάμνω*, *ἀπόλλυμι* by *χάνω*, *οἶδα* by *ἤξεύρω*, *οὐτάω* by *λαβόω*, *τίθημι* by *βάλλω*. The same thing is even more clearly seen in phrases, such as *ἔχει* with the accusative, for 'there is,' 'there are'; *μὲ κακοφαίνεται*, for 'I am sorry'; *ἔχετε δίκαιο*, for 'you are right.' Indeed, expressions such as these are so modern in their aspect, as to tempt us to believe that they belong to a recent stage in the development of Modern Greek; but this again would probably be a rash conclusion, for the more we study the mediæval Greek poems and documents, the more we are struck with the modern character of the diction which they employ. Anyhow, it is possible to show by several different lines of proof, that the Greek which is spoken in Italy separated off at a comparatively early period from the language of the mother country; and to this point in the argument we will next proceed.

In the first place, there are not a few classical words, which are retained either in the Terra d'Otranto, or in the Bova district, or in both dialects, while they are lost, or have become quite unfamiliar, in Greece. A striking instance of this is found in the adverb of time 'now.' In Ancient Greek this is expressed by *νῦν*, *ἤδη*, and *ἄρτι*. In Modern Greek none of these have survived, and their place is taken by *τώρα*, *i.e.* (*αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ*). But in Italy *νῦν* and *ἤδη* on the one hand, and *τώρα* on the other, are unknown, and *ἄρτι* or *ἄρτε* is universally employed. In both dialects *χρυσάφι* (A. G. *χρυσός*) is used instead of M. G. *μάλαγμα*, 'gold'; *ψυχρό* instead of M. G. *κρύο*, 'cold'; *κλάω* (Otr.) and *κλάνω* (Bov.) instead of M. G. *τσακίζω*, 'I break'; *σώζω* (Otr.) and *σώνω* (Bov.) instead of M. G. *ἠμπορῶ*, 'I am able'; *ρίω* (Otr.) and *ρίγῶ* (Bov.), where A. G. is *ρίγέω*, for M. G. *κρύνω*, 'I am cold'; *ἔσου* (Otr.) and *ἔσου* (Bov.) for M. G. *μέσα*, 'inside.' In Otr. are found *ἀρμάζω* (A. G. *ἀρμόζω*) for M. G. *στεφανώνω*, 'I marry'; *ταράσσω* for M. G. *μισεύω*, 'I depart'; *ἀμπάρι* (A. G. *ἰππάριον*) for M. G. *ἄλογο*, 'a horse': and in Bov. *χίμαρο* for M. G. *κατζίκι*, 'kid'; *ἀλέστορα* (A. G. *ἀλέκτωρ*) for M. G. *πετεινός*, 'cock'; *δερφάκι* (A. G. *δελφάκιον*) 'sucking-pig'; *όπλή* (A. G. with the meaning of 'hoof') 'footprint'; *ζέμα* (A. G. 'decoction') for M. G. *ζουμί*, 'broth'; *όργάδα* (A. G. *όργάς*), 'fertile land'; *ὦδε* for M. G. *ἐδώ*, 'here': *μεταπάλε* also (*μετὰ πάλιν*), 'once more,' has an ancient character. To these we may add certain words, the original form of which is found here, while only the diminutive exists in Greece—*αἶγα* (M. G. *γίδι*, for *αἰγίδιον*), *κεφαλή* (M. G. *κεφάλι*, for *κεφάλιον*), and *ἄλα* (M. G. *ἀλάτι*, for *ἀλάτιον*). Most remarkable of all is the termination of the 3rd plur. of the present tense of verbs, in *-ουσι* for *-ουν*. These survivals of classical diction are interesting in themselves, and serve also to prove the primitive character of these dialects.

Further; the numerous differences of usage which exist between the Greek that is spoken in Italy and ordinary Modern Greek imply that the two have long been separated. Among these the following are the most noticeable. In Greece the forms of affirmation and negation are *ναί* or *μάλιστα*, and *ὄχι*; in Italy none of these are found, but 'yes' is expressed in Otr. by



οὔμμε, in Bov. by *μαναί*, and 'no' in Otr. by *δέγε* (pronounced *deghe*), in Bov. by *δέ*. The last of these is evidently for *δέν* (οὐδέν), and *δέγε* looks like an extension of it—hardly, as Morosi thinks, by the classical *γέ* being affixed, for the day of particles with an independent meaning had passed away long before this word was created. *Μαναί* is *ναί* with *μά* prefixed; but this *μά* is more likely to have been the Italian for 'but,' which is frequently used in M. G., than the ancient particle; for the usage compare Fr. '*mais oui*.' The barbarous *οὔμμε* defies analysis.—The comparative form in *-τερος* is lost, but two comparatives, which are either lost or extremely rare in M. G., *κάλλιο*, 'better,' and *χείρο*, 'worse,' are regularly in use here.—The aor. pass. is free from the accretion of *-κα*, which is found in mediaeval and modern Greek, as *ἐστάθηκα* for *ἐστάθην*; the only forms in which it is found being the neut. aor. of *βαίνω* and its compounds, as *διάβηκα*, *ἀνέβηκα*, *ἐμβήκα* for *διέβην*, *ἀνέβην*, *ἐνέβην*.—Though the form of the future tense is lost, yet *θά* with the subjunctive, which has supplied its place in Greece, is wanting here; *θέλω νά* is used for 'I wish to,' and *ἔχω νά* for 'I have to,' 'I must,' but neither of them serves for the simple future. If *θά* had been in use before these Greeks migrated to Italy, it would be strange if they had lost so serviceable a form; as it is, they can only express the future by the present combined with an adverb, as *ἔρχομαι αὔρι(ον)* for 'I shall come to-morrow.'—The tendency to shift the accent of words on to the final syllable, the influence of which already shows itself in mediaeval Greek, and which appears almost like a trick in the modern language, is hardly found here (see above, p. 17).—There is no trace of the complimentary Greek address *τοῦ λόγου σας*, 'your honour,' though this is found in embryo as early as the fourteenth century<sup>1</sup>; its place is taken by *ἀστεντία σα* (*αὔθεντία σας*).

Again, the words of foreign importation—Slavonic, Albanian, Venetian, and Turkish—which have influenced so considerably the Modern Greek vocabulary, are here almost entirely wanting. The influence of the Slavonic languages, indeed, on Modern Greek, as Miklosich has shown in his valuable paper, *Die slavischen elemente im Neugriechischen*, has not been extensive; but of the words which he there mentions as having this origin, only one, *ρόυχα*, 'clothes,' seems to have found its way into Italy, and this may have been adopted into Greek at a comparatively early date. Albanian seems to be unrepresented, and the Venetian dialect of Italian almost entirely so, though in Greece from the fourteenth century onward, owing to the extensive dominion of the Republic in the East, it furnished many expressions which afterwards became naturalised. The question of Turkish words is a more difficult one, because it depends in part on the amount of confidence that is to be placed in a book published by Morelli at Naples in 1847, entitled *Cenni storici intorno alle colonie greco-calabre*. This work, which I have not seen, but which in the judgment of Morosi and Pellegrini is full of errors, contains in one part a list of words in use at Bova, among which are several of Turkish origin. For the existence of these Morelli seems to be the sole

<sup>1</sup> See *J.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 205.

authority, and when I enquired about some of them on the spot I found them to be unknown; indeed, Morosi is led to suspect that they must have been obtained from some Calabrian Greek who had been in Greece. The name *Τοῦρκο*, it is true, occurs in the songs, but this proves nothing with regard to this point, since it is used generally in the sense of a ‘corsair.’ To all this we may add what has already been remarked, that the regular ballad metre of the Greeks, and the familiar subjects of their songs, are wanting in Italy; and, moreover, that the popular mythology, with the well-known figures of Charon, the Nereids, &c.,<sup>1</sup> which is everywhere else the inheritance of this people, is unknown here. This is the more striking, because the Greeks of Cargese in Corsica, who migrated from the Morea two centuries ago, and have ever since been cut off from communication with their countrymen, still retain the ballads which they brought with them, and speak a language but little different from that which is in use in southern Greece.

The proofs which have thus been accumulated to shew that the Greek which is spoken in Italy is mediaeval, and not simply modern, in its leading features are corroborated by a comparison of the dialects of the Terra d’Otranto and of Bova with one another. My readers cannot fail to have been struck with the correspondence between these where they mutually differ from ordinary Romaic, in respect of their preservation of classical words, as *κλάω*, *ῥιγῶ*; their use of words otherwise unknown, as *τίσπο*, *κανονῶ*; and their peculiarities of form and accent and meaning. From these we naturally conclude that the two were derived from a common original dialect, which was in use in Italy at one time as an independent language, distinct from that which was spoken in Greece. On the other hand, the differences between the two dialects are sufficiently strongly marked to prove that the period when they were one is of considerable antiquity. Thus, to take a few instances out of many, the consonants *κ*, *γ*, *τ*, *δ*, *β*, *ν*, which as a rule are lost between vowels in Otr., are usually kept in Bov.; *δ* is pronounced in Otr. as Eng. *l*, in Bov. as Eng. soft *th*; *θ* never retains its aspirated sound in Otr., but almost always does so in Bov.; the combinations *κτ* and *χθ*, which in Otr. become *φτ*, in Bov. become *στ*; as *κτένα κτενίον*, Otr. *ἀφτένι*, Bov. *στένι*; *ἐχθές*, Otr. *ἀφτέ*, Bov. *ἐστέ*. I may remark in passing that, chiefly owing to the loss of internal consonants, the Otrantine dialect is much the more difficult of the two to understand. In that district I was informed that, when the inhabitants came in contact with a Greek from Greece—a thing which now and then happens, and is only natural owing to the proximity of the two countries, since on a clear day Corfu is in sight from that neighbourhood—they have great difficulty in comprehending his language; whereas my informant at Bova assured me that he had met such a Greek at Reggio, and that, when he spoke slowly, he could understand very fairly what he said.

Still, notwithstanding the evidences of antiquity which have been

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<sup>1</sup> On these, my *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. pp. 304 foll., may be consulted.

mentioned, there are various features in these dialects which it is difficult to regard as otherwise than comparatively modern. The study of mediaeval Greek is hardly, perhaps, as yet sufficiently far advanced for us to be able to say with confidence at what period a particular word or form first appeared; but it is certainly striking that, whereas in the Italian Greek the words used for 'not' are corruptions of *δέν*, in the mediaeval chronicle of the Conquest of the Morea, which was written in the Peloponnese in the fourteenth century, this form does not occur, but only *οὐδέν* in the same sense. M. Psichari, however, in his lately published work, *Essais de grammaire historique néo-grecque*, has furnished us with a test by which the periods of development of the modern Greek language may be approximately determined. By a careful examination of all the available compositions in popular mediaeval Greek he has shewn, that until the beginning of the fourteenth century the nom. plur. fem. of the article was *αἱ* and the accus. *τάς*, but that from that time onward *οἱ* (*ῆ*) began to take the place of the former, and *τές* (*ταῖς*) of the latter,<sup>1</sup> until in the course of the two following centuries they respectively drove out the earlier forms. Now we find that in Otr. the nom. plur. fem. is *αἱ* and the accus. *τές*, while in Bov. the nom. is *οἱ* and the accus. *τές*. The conclusion to which this brings us is that, unless the correspondence in these changes in Greece and Italy is accidental—which it is difficult to suppose—the Otrantine dialect must have been in some degree, that of Bova considerably, exposed to the influence of the language spoken in Greece subsequently to the thirteenth century.

Let us now enquire how far the results at which we have arrived by examining the language are borne out by the evidence of historical documents. With regard to the dying out of ancient Greek in the south of Italy, Strabo tells us that in his time the whole of that country, with the exception of the cities of Tarentum, Rhegium, and Naples, had been completely barbarised (*ἐκβεβαρβάρωσθαι*), i.e. that it had ceased to use the Greek tongue<sup>2</sup>; and from the absence of Greek inscriptions of the imperial period in that district—as far as the present state of our knowledge justifies us in speaking on the subject—we may conclude that that language became extinct there within the first, or at the utmost the second, century after Christ. From that period onward no considerable influx of Greeks into Italy took place until the outbreak of iconoclasm in the Eastern empire in the eighth century. At that time, owing to the persecutions to which the image-worshippers were exposed and their unwillingness to resign their cherished observances, large numbers of Byzantine Christians, especially of monks, left their homes, and settled in Apulia and Calabria; and the movement thus set on foot assumed so great proportions, that we are told that in the course of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries as many as two hundred Greek monasteries were erected in south Italy, and were subject to the

<sup>1</sup> The difference between *οἱ* and *ῆ*, *τές* and *ταῖς*, is one of orthography, for the pronunciation in each case is the same; there is no need here to discuss the question, which of the two is prefer-

able, though it is important in determining the origin of these forms.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, vi. 1. § 2, p. 253.

patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> But as the monks are *gens in qua nemo nascitur*, and with the final cessation of iconoclasm in the middle of the ninth century the primary cause of their emigration was removed, there must have existed on the spot a large number of their coreligionists to furnish inmates for those institutions. Such a Greek population was provided through the reestablishment of Byzantine influence in south Italy at that period by the emperor Basil the Macedonian, who organised his possessions there into a province called the Theme of Langobardia. After Basil's death, when the rich widow Danielis of Patrae (Patras), whose adopted son he was, left her immense possessions to his successor, Leo VI., that emperor enfranchised three thousand of her slaves, and established them in Apulia to cultivate the land as serfs.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently to this the Greek element must have greatly increased through the power exercised by the Byzantine officials, for we hear of as many as twenty important places, chiefly on the sea-coast, which were centres of their activity.<sup>3</sup> After the final overthrow of the rule of the Eastern empire in these parts by the Normans in 1071, we have no definite evidence of any further reinforcement of these Greek colonies during the middle ages; though it is possible that in the time of the Comneni persons of this nationality may have been brought over to Italy by the Norman princes, first when Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemund invaded Greece, and afterwards when Roger II., after overrunning the country, carried off to Sicily the silk-workers of Thebes and Corinth. Nor can we overlook the close connexion which existed between the Kingdom of Naples and the Principality of the Morea in the latter part of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps also at the time of the Ottoman conquest other Greeks may have fled hither for refuge, like those Albanians who crossed the Adriatic subsequently to the time of Scanderbeg, and whose settlements are still numerous in south Italy. But concerning the arrival of one additional colony at a later period we have certain information. Spon and Wheler mention that in 1673, about the time of their visit to Greece, when the Turks were endeavouring to subjugate the Mainotes in the south of the Morea, more than two thousand persons of that race

<sup>1</sup> Zambelli, *Ἱταλοελληνικά*, pp. 23, 202. and the authorities there given.

<sup>2</sup> See Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Zambelli, pp. 56, 57. In this connexion we may notice a remarkable group of words, which from having had a military application have come to be used of agriculture. In Otr. the term for 'tilling' the fields is *πολεμῶ*, and agricultural implements are called *ἄρματα*, which is the regular word for 'arms' in mediaeval and modern Greek. Again, in Bov. the word for an agricultural labourer is *πεζός* 'a foot-soldier,' and that for 'a person' is *θέμα*, which also is said to have been previously used for 'a cultivator of the soil.' The last word is used in Byzantine Greek first for 'a division of soldiers,' and then for the district in which they were

stationed; whence it was technically used for the Themes of the Empire, and ultimately was equivalent to a geographical administrative division like the Theme of Langobardia just mentioned. It has been suggested by Morosi and Pellegini that the use of these expressions takes us back to the time of Byzantine military occupation; and the hypothesis is a tempting one, for nothing corresponding to this change of meaning is found elsewhere among Greek-speaking peoples, so that it would seem to have been caused by circumstances peculiar to the Italian colonies. When, however, it is applied to the words severally, it is difficult to see how it can be made to explain the change.

<sup>4</sup> See *J. H. S.* vol. iv. pp. 179—181

migrated to Apulia in order to preserve their independence, and had lands assigned to them there by the King of Spain.<sup>1</sup> From Italian sources we learn that in 1674 a detachment of these, consisting of 175 inhabitants of Pressio in the Morea (*i.e.* probably Prastio, near Cardamyla), landed in the Terra d'Otranto, and were established at Mottola, a hill-town at the back of Taranto. When, however, an attempt was made to force them to adopt the Latin rite, they declined to submit, and betook themselves to Tricarico, a place further inland in the neighbourhood of Potenza.<sup>2</sup> This took place about the same time that the Greek settlement was established in Corsica. We are further informed that in 1716 many families came from Greece to Lecce, and settled in that city and its neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup>

To turn now to the evidence furnished by Italy itself; we have ample proof from this source of an extensive Greek population existing in the country during the Middle Ages. In the Neapolitan archives there is a large collection of local Greek documents, ranging from A.D. 983 to 1304, and containing charters, agreements, forms of sale, &c., the information contained in which has been sifted by Zambelli (Zampelios), and summarised in his *Ἱταλοελληνικά*. The lists of Greek family names belonging to persons attached to farms and properties in various parts of the country, which occur in these, are very interesting, and the names correspond to a great extent to those which exist among the Greeks of the present day; such as *Παλαιόπουλος*, *Μουσούρης*, *Καλογερίτζης*, *Κοσκινῶς*, *Κονταράτος*.<sup>4</sup> But the local names evidently of Greek origin which at the present day are widely spread over these provinces of Italy show that Greek was once used throughout a much more extensive area than any documents would seem to imply. Zambelli has collected more than fifty of these, which are found either there or in Sicily, and the following may

<sup>1</sup> Spon, *Voyage d'Italie* &c., Amst. 1679 vol. i. p. 122; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, Lond. 1682, p. 47. Among the Bova songs there is one that turns on the subject of 'the Greek girl' (ἡ Ῥωμαιοπούλα) who refuses the suit of a Turkish lover, notwithstanding her mother's solicitations (Comparetti Nos. 36, 37; Pellegrini, No. 62). This poem differs completely in metre and mode of treatment from all the rest that are found in Italy, and corresponds to two on the same subject which are sung in Greece, Nos. 574 and 574a in Passow's *Carmina popularia Graeciae recentioris*; there can be no doubt therefore that it has been imported from abroad. Morosi ('Bova,' p. 74), mentions a story which was current at Bova, to the effect that it had been introduced early in the present century by a native of that place who had lived abroad. If this was not the case, it is probable that it dates from the time of the migration of the Mainotes.

<sup>2</sup> Rodotà, *Dell' origine del rito greco*, vol. iii. p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Aar, in *Archivio storico italiano*, 4th ser. vol. vi. p. 316.

<sup>4</sup> Zambelli, p. 168. It is also noticeable, as illustrating the numerous points of correspondence which exist between modern and early mediaeval Greek, how many words and peculiarities of form which are familiar at the present day are found in these early documents. Thus 'water' is *νερόν*, the 'nose' *μύτη*, 'a dog' *σκύλλος*, 'oil' *λάδι*, 'a goat' *γίδα*, 'the summer' *καλοκαίριν*, 'a forest' *λόγγος*, 'silver' *ἄσήμι*, 'an ass' *γαῖδαρος*: 'white' *ἄσπρος*, 'black' *μαῦρος*, 'short' *κοντός*, 'lame' *κουτζός*: and (to illustrate peculiarities of form) for *ἄερα*, 'wind' we find *ἀγέρας*, for *αἷμα γαῖμα*, for *κεκαυμένος καμμένος*, for *ἔφερον ἐφέρασιν*, for *ἐκαμον ἐκάμασιν*. (Zambelli, pp. 154, 171, 184, 185). It may be added, that in the Greek of the Bova district at the present day there are words in use which exist in Greek MSS. of Calabria earlier than Cent. xiii., but do not belong to the language as spoken in Greece—*βαθεῖα* 'valley,' *ἀρτυσία* 'seasoning,' *κεφάλωμα* 'extremity,' *στεννάτο* (for *στεγνάτον*) 'boiler,' and others. (Morosi, '*Bova*,' p. 75.)

be taken as specimens:—Monastarace (Μοναστηράκι), Riace (Ῥυάκι), Velanidi (Βελανίδι), Neocastro (Νεόκαστρον), Policastro (Πολύκαστρον), Contoguri (Κοντογούρι), Petrizza (Πετρίτζα), Aciri (Ἄκρι), Cropolati (Κουροπαλάτης).<sup>1</sup> An additional and very curious form of evidence is supplied by the numerous mediaeval Greek words which are found embedded in the modern Apulian and Calabrian dialects of Italian. Thus the ‘tortoise’ is *celona* (χελώνη), ‘a frying-pan’ *tiane* (τηγάνι), ‘a fox’ *lipudu* (ἀλιποῦδα, = ἀλώπηξ), ‘a skull’ *coccalo* (κόκκαλον), ‘fresh cheese’ *provola* (πρόγαλα), ‘a nest’ *foddea* (φωλέα); and there are many others.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the two groups of Greek townships and villages which are the subject of this paper we have information of a fairly early date, and in both cases we discover that at one period they extended more widely than they do at the present day. In the case of the Terra d’Otranto the intimations occur at sufficiently frequent intervals to form a continuous chain of evidence from early in the middle ages to the present time. These have been collected with great care and learning by Sig. Aar in his articles entitled *Gli studi storici in Terra d’Otranto* in vols. vi. and ix. of ser. 4 of the *Archivio storico italiano*;<sup>3</sup> and for the earlier period are derived from Greek manuscripts, like those already mentioned, in the Neapolitan and other archives, and from incidental notices in other documents. Thus a bull of Urban VI. in 1384 informs us that the town of Galatina, between Lecce and Gallipoli, had then a mixed population of Greek and Latin Christians, but that the services of the Church were conducted only in the Greek tongue. From this period onward the number of our authorities increases. Early in the fifteenth century Epifanio, abbot of Nardò, near Galatina, mentions many places inhabited by Greeks, whose number amounted to 12,330 souls. At the beginning of the following century Galateo, who was a native of these parts, in his book *De situ Iapigiæ* makes mention of other towns where Greek was spoken; and this was confirmed during the sixteenth century by Alberti in his *Descrittione di tutta l’Italia*, by Porzio in his *Relazione del regno di Napoli*, and by Persio in his *Discorso intorno alla conformità della lingua italiana con le più nobili antiche lingue*. Further evidence on the same subject is furnished in the first half of the seventeenth century by Arcudi, priest of Soleto, who in a letter addressed to Pope Urban VIII. describes the Greek that was in use in that place; and in the early part of the eighteenth century by Ughelli in his *Italia Sacra*.<sup>4</sup> Of the Greeks of Bova the first notice is found in a charter (without date) of Roger II., who died in 1154: in this, among the serfs presented by him to a monastery in Calabria, we find Γρηγόριος Βουτάνος and Νικήτης Βουτάνος; and the gentile name here given can hardly mean anything else than ‘inhabitant of Bova (Βοῦα),’ being in fact the name

<sup>1</sup> Zambelli, pp. 54, 55; cp. Morosi, *Studi*, 206.

<sup>2</sup> Zambelli, p. 68; cp. Morosi, *Studi*, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Proofs of the existence of a much more numerous Greek population are given in vol. vi. pp. 101, 102, and notes. For evidence on the

same subject derived from the continuance of the Greek rite in Italy the reader is referred to an article in the *Antiquary* for 1888, pp. 195—197.

<sup>4</sup> See the authorities in Morosi, *Studi*, pp. 181, 207. and Pellegrini, pp. ix—xi.

applied to the people of that place at the present day.<sup>1</sup> At a later period they are explicitly mentioned by Barrio in his *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* (Rom. 1571). After mentioning various other places in that province where Greek was spoken, that writer names 'Bova civitas, sedes episcopalis in montis cacumine sita,' and then adds—'A Leucopetra villa hucusque incolae in familiari sermone Latina (*i.e.* Italian) et Graeca lingua utuntur, sacra vero Graeca lingua, Graecoque ritu faciunt.'<sup>2</sup>

The conclusion, then, to which we are led with regard to the origin of the Greek-speaking population of South Italy is, that they are descendants of the Byzantine Greeks who migrated thither not later than the eleventh century, and that the groundwork of their language is to be found in the Greek that was spoken in Greece at that time. But, notwithstanding that we have no definite evidence of any other immigrants having come over from the mother-country between that date and the seventeenth century, yet so great difficulty is involved in supposing that all the forms and expressions which these dialects possess in common with Modern Greek existed so early, that we are almost forced to the conclusion that the original colonies must at some time have been reinforced in this manner. We have seen that it is a doubtful question whether any Turkish words are to be found in the Italian Greek at the present day. If this should prove to be the case, their introduction may with some confidence be referred to the migration from Greece which took place in 1673; and other peculiarities in the language, which can be proved to bear a comparatively modern stamp, may not unreasonably be attributed to that period.

H. F. TOZER.

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<sup>1</sup> Morosi, '*Bova*,' p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Barrius, p. 228, quoted by Pott in *Philologus*, vol. xi. p. 247.

## APOLLO HIKESIOS.

IN an article by J. Y. Akerman (*Num. Chron.* iv. p. 97) is the following inscription :—

*Obv.* Head of Antoninus Pius.

*Rev.* ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΜΒΑΣΙΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. Apollo Embasius of the Ephesians. A galley. (Vaillant, *Num. Graeca.*)

On turning to Vaillant's work, p. 291, I find the coin referred to by Akerman quite differently described :—

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΜΒΑΣΙΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. Apollo stans nudus, dextrâ demissâ sinistro cubito columnae imposito, telum gerit : ex adverso Diana Venatricis habitu, dextrâ pariter demissâ, sinistrâ jaculum tenet. *Num. Antonini Pii*, ΕΜΒΑΣΙΟΣ Apollinis fuit cognomen, hoc est, *ascendens navim*, &c.

Eckhel also cites Vaillant's description and remarks (ii. 516), 'Apollonius *Lib. I. Argonauticorum* saepius meminit 'Απόλλωνος 'Εμβασίου et 'Εκβασίου quem venerati sunt Argonautae velut qui tueretur eos qui ad iter maritimum accincti *ingrediuntur* navim, praestaretque salvos *egredi*. Numen urbi opportunum cujus amplum fuit mari commercium.'

Without wishing for a moment to call in question Akerman's good faith, I cannot bring myself to believe that any such coin as he describes was before him when he wrote his paper, and I am driven to the conclusion that either through want of familiarity with Latin or through carelessness he entirely failed to comprehend Vaillant's words, and took the explanation of the epithet ΕΜΒΑΣΙΟΣ '*ascendens navim*' as referring to the type of the coin : or possibly he may have had before him a coin of Ephesus with a galley upon it (cf. *Mion.* iii. 112, 378), but with an illegible inscription in which he may have fancied that he could trace the words ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΜΒΑΣΙΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ.

In any case I must decline to accept Akerman's description as of any value whatever.

With regard to Vaillant's coin the case is different, but I think I shall be able to show that he also has fallen into some serious errors in describing the coin, though in his case the faults are more excusable owing to the poor preservation in which the specimen evidently was.

The following is an exact description of a piece which is in all probability identical in type and inscription with the coin cited by Vaillant.

*Obv.* Τ. ΑΙΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝ[ΤΩΝΕΙ]ΝΟΣ. Bust of Antoninus Pius r. laur.



*Rev.* ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΚΕ ΣΙΟCEΦECIΩN. Apollo and Artemis standing face to face: Apollo left, naked but for chlamys wound round left arm and hanging from his elbow, grasps with his right hand a laurel-branch offered him by Artemis, and holds bow in left: Artemis right, wearing long chiton with diplois and quiver at shoulder, holds in left hand a bow and in lowered right a branch of laurel which she offers to Apollo: from the stem of the branch near her hand hangs apparently a fillet. Æ 1.2.



It will be seen that the general aspect of this type is not inconsistent with Vaillant's description. He has simply mistaken the chlamys which hangs in a straight line from Apollo's elbow for a column, and the bows held by the two figures for darts: the laurel-branch has escaped his notice entirely.

These and such-like errors in description are unfortunately common enough in all numismatic works, and may be held excusable in the case of ill-preserved coins. But in transcribing the legend Vaillant must be held responsible for a serious misapprehension of the mutual relation of inscription and type on Greek coins.

An epithet such as ΕΜΒΑCΙOC, implying a well defined aspect of Apollo worship, could hardly be looked for in conjunction with such a type as Vaillant describes, and it may have been some half consciousness of this incongruity which led Akerman to the hasty assumption that the type of the coin was a galley, although a galley unaccompanied by the god himself would be equally surprising.

What can have induced Vaillant to assume that he could read the word ΕΜΒΑCΙOC I am at a loss to imagine. The result has been that he has mislead all numismatists, Eckhel included, for nearly two hundred years.

The coin which I now describe was purchased by the British Museum in 1848 from Mr. Borrell of Smyrna. The inscription is legible throughout though slightly indistinct in parts. It is of importance in the first place as correcting Vaillant and compelling us to erase the epithet ΕΜΒΑCΙOC from among the titles of Apollo which occur on coins, and in the second place as introducing an entirely new epithet ΙΚΕCΙOC which has hitherto, so far as I know, never been met with either on coins, in inscriptions, or in literature, in connection with Apollo, though it is a well-known epithet of Zeus as the Protector of Suppliants (cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 341, 610; Soph. *Phil.* 484; and Eur. *Hec.* 345).

The epithet ΙΚΕCΙOC is nevertheless one which is entirely in harmony

with the idea of purification from blood-guiltiness so intimately associated with the religion of Apollo as it is exemplified, to quote one notable instance, in the well-known story of Orestes.

ἐγὼ μὲν ἔρπω πρὸς πολυστεφῇ μυχόν.  
 ὀρώ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῇ  
 ἔδραν ἔχοντα προστρόπαιον, αἵματι  
 στάζοντα χεῖρας καὶ νεοσπαδὲς ξίφος  
 ἔχοντ' ἐλαίας θ' ὑφ' ἱγένητον κλάδον.  
 λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον,  
 ἀργήτι μαλλῶ· τῇδε γὰρ τρανῶς ἐρώ.

Aesch. *Eum.* 39 sqq.

The man who was stained with the blood of his fellow-man, the criminal or the outcast, if he turned as a suppliant *ἰκέτης* or *προστρόπαιος*, to Apollo and humbly sued for purification, could obtain it at the hands of the god after the performance of the due rites and ceremonies, among which the sprinkling of the suppliant with the blood of the expiatory victim and subsequent penance were the most characteristic. The ceremony of sprinkling was performed with the sacred olive or laurel branch, *ἰκετηρία*, bound with a fillet of white wool: *Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κλήρου παραλαβὼν τοὺς λαχόντας ὁ Θησεὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς Δελφίνιον ἔθηκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἰκετηρίαν. Ἦν δὲ κλάδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας ἐρίῳ λευκῷ κατεστεμμένος* (Plut. *Thes.* 18).

The suppliant seeking relief from sin is frequently spoken of as approaching the altar of the god holding this symbol of his condition as a suppliant for purification in his hand.

This *ἰκετηρία* is the branch which on our coin is presented by Artemis to Apollo clearly with the object of distinguishing him as Apollo *Ἰκέσιος*, a title which we may therefore conclude that he bore in some temple at Ephesus, which was perhaps consecrated in the reign of Antoninus Pius, a temple which very probably may have enjoyed a right of Asylum for fugitives similar to that of the temple of the great Ephesian goddess herself.

In conclusion I may remark that the pieces said to bear the legend ΠΕΙΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ (Eckhel ii. 516), which are of the same type as the one described above, seem to be misread specimens of the same coin.

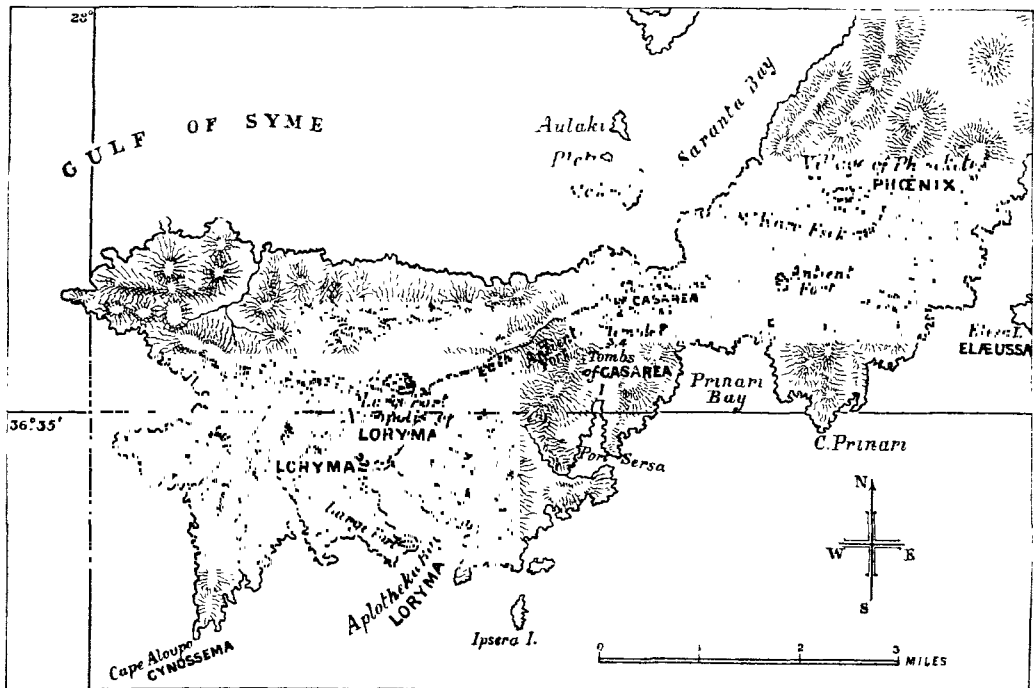
BARCLAY V. HEAD.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM CASAREA, LYDAE, PATARA, MYRA.

## I.

## CASAREA.

In last year's volume of this *Journal* (ix. pp. 82, 83) Mr. Theodore Ben described the situation of this Carian town, which he discovered about three miles to the north-east of Loryma.<sup>1</sup> In laying before the reader the



inscriptions found on this site, from which we recover its name, I would call attention to the accompanying Map of Casarea and its neighbourhood,

<sup>1</sup> Photographic views and plans of Loryma are published in Benndorf and Niemann, *Lykien*, vol. i. plates ix., x.; p. 20.

prepared by Mr. Bent at my request. He has made it the more valuable by adding the following memoranda:—

‘During investigations on the southern coast of Caria, near the promontory anciently called Cynossema, and now known as Cape Aloupo or Fox, we were anchored in the Bay of Aplotheke, around which are the ruins of ancient Loryma. Whilst here, we heard from the peasants of a curious harbour and ruins at a little distance from the bay. Accordingly we rowed along the coast in our boat past several islets, and soon arrived at this harbour, the entrance of which is not a stone’s throw across, though it opens within into a considerable basin surrounded by high mountains. This harbour appears now to be known only to smugglers and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Phinekete, or Phenike,<sup>1</sup> who have two or three boats here and a rude cottage for wayfarers. It is now known as Sersa, and may be identified with the *Κρήσα λιμὴν* of Ptolemy (v. 2) and Pliny’s ‘Portus Cressa’ (*N.H.* v. 104), which he describes as in Caria, and distant twenty miles from Rhodes.<sup>2</sup> From the mouth of the harbour there runs northward across the isthmus a narrow valley, which the people of Phenike use for growing corn; it is full of the *débris* of an ancient city. Beneath a large caroub-tree, and covered by the ruins of a Byzantine church, we found a row of bases of columns (apparently *in situ*), as if a temple had stood here. At this spot (marked 3, 4 in the Map) we found two inscriptions (Nos. 3, 4, *infra*). Towards the southern end of the valley were tombs, one of which bore the inscription No. 1, *infra* (the site is marked 1 in the Map). About half-way up the valley, some way up the slopes to the east of the ruins of the town, were three large stones, on one of which was the inscription No. 2, *infra* (marked 2 in the Map). At the northern extremity of the valley, at the top of a cliff going down very abruptly into the sea, and affording a lovely view of the island-dotted gulf of Syme, were large quantities of tombs composed of blocks of marble piled pyramid-wise upon each other.’

To these remarks of Mr. Bent let me add a word or two respecting the name and site of Casarea. The site belongs, of course, to the Rhodian territory on the Carian mainland. The ethnic names *Κασαρεύς*, *Κασαρίς*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ancient Φοῖνιξ: see Ptolemy, v. 2 § 11, and Strabo xiv. p. 652: ‘Εξῆς δὲ φύσκος πολίχνη λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ἄλλος Δηφών· εἰτα Λώρυμα παραλία τραχεῖα, καὶ ὕρος ὑψηλότατον τῶν ταύτη (ἐπ’ ἄκρῳ δὲ φρούριον δμῶνυμον τῷ ὕρει) Φοῖνιξ. Compare *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* x. 1886, pp. 248 foll., where some inscriptions from Phoenix are published.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy is usually careful to enumerate the names of places in proper geographical order: accordingly the position of *Κρήσα λιμὴν* in his list is important, as confirming the identification of *Κρήσα λιμὴν* with the modern Seisa,—viz.

Loryma, Portus Cressa, Phenike. There may well be a connexion also between the names *Κρήσα* and *Sersa*.

<sup>3</sup> While I am preparing this paper there reaches me from Paris the index, just issued, of the first ten volumes of the *Bulletin*, ‘*Table générale des dix premières années* (1877–1886).’ This will be a welcome help to all the readers of the *Bulletin*, that is to say to every student of Classical antiquities throughout the world. The *Table* is planned on a larger and fuller scale than either the *Register* of the *Mittheilungen*, or Mr. Hamilton Smith’s Index to the *Hellenic Journal*,

occur not unfrequently in lists or epitaphs of Rhodian citizens; see Ross *Hellenika* i. p. 103, No. 28 (from Rhodes): 'Αγαθάνασσα 'Αγαθοκλεῦς Κασαρίς, whereupon Ross remarks, 'Das weibliche Demotikon Κασαρίς lässt auf einen Ortsnamen Κάσαρα schliessen, wie Μεγαρίς von Μέγαρα. Wahrscheinlich ist dieser unbekannte Ort wieder ein Rhodischer Demos.' This conjecture of Ross is approved by MM. Holleaux and Diehl, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* ix. p. 120 (Πεισικράτης 'Αριστοφύλου Κασαρεύς, and Ξενοφών Ξενοκλεῦς Κασαρεύς), who refer to *Bulletin* ii. pp. 617, 618 (Νυμφόδοτος 'Ροδοκλεῦς Κασαρεύς, where the editor has wrongly suggested Κα[ι]σαρεύς), and *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, 1883, p. 121, line 12 ([ὁ δέ]να Κα]σαρεύς). To these instances, tombstones found in Rhodes itself, we may add *Bulletin* x. p. 259, where, in a decree of an eranos of Adonis-worshippers found at Loryma, occurs the name [Τελέ]σταν Τελέσωνος Κασαρή. Here also the editor alters the local name to Κα[ι]σαρή. This makes it probable that the name may still have to be restored in some or other of the classical texts, since Κασαρεύς was sure to be corrected by ancient scribe or modern editor into Κασαρεύς.

I could wish that Mr. Bent's inscriptions given below (Nos. 1—4) were more numerous, and afforded more distinct evidence to connect the name with this particular site. There is nothing to compel us to do so. In this valley of the Rhodian Peraea, whatever its name, a townsman of Casarea may conceivably have been honoured with a tomb or a statue, even if Casarea was a deme in the island of Rhodes. But probability favours Mr. Bent's identification, and we may provisionally accept it. The occurrence of the name in the decree of Adoniasts at Loryma certainly points rather to the Peraea. No. 2 of Mr. Bent's inscriptions is edited from an impression which is difficult to read, and (if rightly deciphered) it gives an unusual form of the ethnic adjective, Κασαρεάτης instead of Κασαρεύς. This however is no real difficulty; compare Κεραμικήτης, Κεράμιος from Κέραμος. I infer, however, that the name of the town was not Κάσαρα (as Ross), but Κασαρέα.

It may be added that the personal names occurring in the following inscriptions are thoroughly Rhodian in character: names compounded with 'Αγη-, 'Αγε-, Τιμα-, or -αναξ, abound in Rhodian lists, and in documents from the Rhodian Peraea (see 'Inscriptions de la Pérée Rhodienne,' in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* x. pp. 245 ff.).

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and contains both a *Table des noms propres Grecs* and another *des noms de choses Grecs*. I find however that the Index of proper names s.v.

Κασαρεύς, Κασαρίς, omits the references to ii. 618 and x. 259.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM CASAREA.

1.

On a tomb at Casarea consisting of four marble blocks resting like steps one upon another: the inscription is upon the lowest step. From an impression.

ΑΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΓΗΝΑΚΙ  
ΚΑΣΑΡΕΩΣ

Ἀγησάνδρου Ἀγήνακ[ος ?  
Κασαρέως.

The letters are perfectly preserved, except at the end of line 1, and belong to a good time, say B.C. 150.

2.

Inscribed on one of three large stones, lying a good deal higher than the town below. 'I dug underneath it,' writes Mr. Bent, 'to see if there was any trace of a tomb; but there was not.' It is clearly the base of a statue. From an impression. Broken apparently on the left only; the first six letters are very illegible. The demotic adjective, if rightly read, is out of its proper place.

. . . ΚΑΣΑΡΕΑΤΗΝ ΠΕΙΣΙΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ  
. . . . . ΝΔΕΑΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

Ὁ δῆμος (?) τὸν δέινα] Κασαρεάτην Πεισιάνακτος,  
καθ' ὑποθέσιν]ν δὲ Ἀγεστράτου.

3.

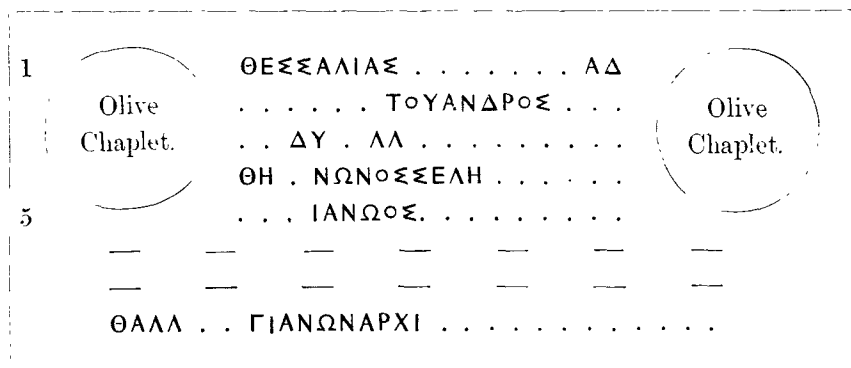
From the base of a column, found apparently *in situ*, among the ruins of a Byzantine church that may have been originally a temple. Rather coarsely inscribed; but the letters are of a good time. From impression.

ΤΙΜΑΠΟΛΙ            Τιμάπολ[ις  
ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ            Ἱέρωνος.

Perhaps the name of the donor of the column.

4.

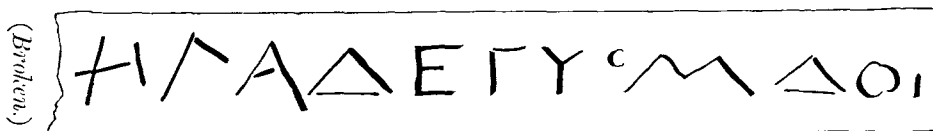
On a marble block discovered close to the base of the column (No. 3) in the ruins of the Byzantine church. Inscribed in small letters of a good time, but so obliterated that no impression could be taken.



Probably a dedication in some one's honour. Θεσσαλία in line 1 may be a woman's name.

5.

'From a tomb at the northern extremity of the valley across the isthmus described above, at the top of the cliff, overlooking the Gulf of Syme.' From a copy.



The inscription, which I cannot decipher, seems to be complete, except at the left extremity. Mr. Bent assures me that his copy was carefully made; he describes the letters as appearing to be half-Carian and half-Greek in form.

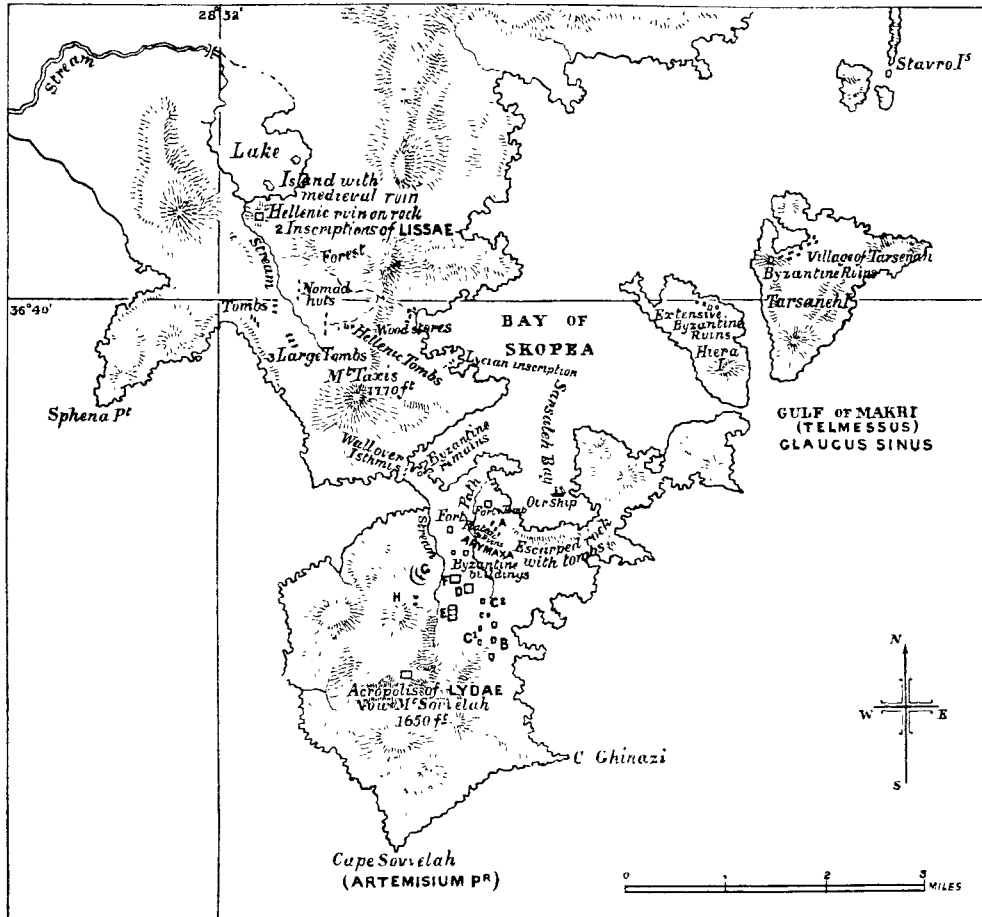
## II.

### LYDAE (Λύδαι) IN LYCIA.

THE geographer Ptolemy (v. 3, 2) enumerates the following Lycian towns as situated round the basin of the Gulf of Makri (Sinus Glaucus): μετὰ Καῦνον Λύδαι, Καρύα, Δαίδαλα, Τελμησσός. These places are enumerated from west to east. In a corresponding passage Pliny (N. H. v. 103) enumerates the following from west to east: oppida Daedala, Crya fugitivorum, flumen Axon, oppidum Calynda. He calls the Καρύα of Ptolemy Crya (see Steph. Byz. s.v. Κρύα), and he omits Lydae altogether. The texts of Ptolemy variously give this last name as Λύδαι, Χύδαι, Χλύδαι:<sup>1</sup> but the inscriptions which are now presented to the reader prove that Λύδαι is the correct form, and that Ptolemy has accurately indicated its site by the place it occupies in his enumeration.

<sup>1</sup> Kiepert gives the name as Klydae in his *Atlas von Hellas*, 1851.

In the winter of 1887-8 Mr. Theodore Bent anchored in the Gulf of Makri, within the basin formed by the northern shore of the promontory or peninsula of Artemisium. This description will become intelligible from a glance at the accompanying Map, which Mr. Bent has prepared from the Admiralty Charts. His explorations in the neighbourhood have been briefly described by him in the last volume of this *Journal* (ix. p. 83). Archaeologists, however, will thank me for having prevailed upon him to furnish some



additional particulars respecting the scenery of the neighbourhood, my own immediate object being to identify the exact site of each of the inscriptions presently to be published. 'The character of the country round the Gulf of Makri (the ancient Glaucus Sinus),' writes Mr. Bent, 'is exceedingly fine, the gulf being hemmed in by high mountains, and forcibly reminding us of the Lake of Lucerne. The town of LYDAE we discovered on the small peninsula to the north-west of the gulf. It is built in a basin surrounded by mountains,



of which Mount Souvelah, with its ruins of the acropolis of Lydae, is 1,650 feet above the level of the sea. There are three other peaks on this peninsula which attain nearly an equal height; and as, roughly speaking, the peninsula is not fifteen miles round, the precipitous character of the ground may easily be imagined. From this peninsula an excellent view of the gulf can be obtained, its surface dotted with islands, its rugged pine-clad slopes, and the snowy peaks of the Taurus range in the background. In the north-west corner of the gulf, where our ship lay, is a tiny archipelago, Tarsenah being the largest island, and possessing a good harbour: this island, moreover, is the only one inhabited; a few poor Greeks from Makri (anciently Telmessos), having built a miserable village thereon amongst the ruins of a town of the Byzantine epoch. Tarsenah, the adjoining island of Hiera, and the islets to the north, all bear evidence of having been extensively inhabited in the days of the lower Empire; but they contain no traces of any earlier occupation, as far as I could gather from a hasty survey and conversation with the inhabitants.'

'Taking one of the Greeks of Tarsenah as our guide, we first of all visited a curious escarped rock on the mainland opposite; it was simply honey-combed with tombs, before which slabs had been placed, and of very irregular shape. Amongst brambles to the left of this rock were some tombs of much finer execution. Over one of these, cut in the rock after the same fashion as the tombs of Telmessus, there is an inscription in red incised letters in an unknown tongue. This was copied in the first instance by a German, von Hammer-Purgstall (*Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante*, 1811), and again by Forbes and Hoskyns, as published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1843, xii. p. 158. My own copy agrees almost exactly with the German one, that of Forbes and Hoskyns being very inaccurate (see *Classical Review*, 1888, ii. p. 234). The characters appear to be a mixture of Carian and Pamphylian.'

'We then went with our ship and anchored at the head of Skopea Bay, just off the peninsula of Lydae, and on the following morning started with our men to examine the ruins which our Greek guide told us existed in the interior of this tongue of land. A precipitous path led up from the water's edge through a dense forest, and forms the sole approach on this side; for an abrupt mountain ridge, in which we saw many rock-cut tombs, acts as a natural fortification for the north-eastern side of the peninsula. About half-way up, in an opening in the forest, we found a quadrangular Hellenic fort, which doubtless in ancient days commanded this approach: and close alongside of this were three tombs cut in the living rock, with domed roofs.'

'On reaching the summit of the ridge, we descended a little to our left, and there came across a plateau covered with ruins. Three large tombs (A in Map), constructed of massive slabs of marble and standing about ten feet high, occupied a commanding position overlooking the Gulf of Makri and the distant mountains. From inscriptions upon these' (nos. 6, 16, 17, *post*), 'we learned for the first time that we were in "the deme of Arymaxa,"

which belonged to the town of "Lydae," and that the tombs belonged to the Diophantus family, who seem to have been the chief people of the place. All around here were traces of extensive ruins, columns and piles of stones, pointing to the existence of a temple and other buildings in this locality. Here too, we found a good spring of water, which doubtless accounts for the choice of this high plateau for building.'

'Ascending again to another elevation, we passed by an ancient and long-disused quarry for marble, which had supplied the material for the construction of Lydae; presently, having passed through the forest southward for another mile, we found ourselves just over the basin in the mountains in which the ruins of Lydae stood. The only inhabitants of the place are nomad Yuruks, who have their skin tents amongst the ruins, while the old buildings provide excellent stabling for their camels. The sole occupation of these nomads is cutting down timber in the surrounding forest, the best pieces being taken down to the sea-shore for sale, and the refuse burned into charcoal.'

'The most conspicuous objects among the ruins of Lydae are three large Heroa, built on the edge of a ridge overlooking the sea to the east (marked *B* on Map). From the southernmost of these tombs we extracted fragments of sarcophagi and a few inscriptions' (nos. 8, 9, 10 *post*).

'From this ridge the ground slopes rapidly down into the basin in which the town was built, and is covered with rough rocks and brushwood, amongst which we found many tombs (*C*<sup>1, 2</sup> in the Map), most of them having inscriptions (nos. 12-15 and 18 *post*). Our work in the actual basin was much hindered by the growth of the "wait-a-bit" thorn: surrounded by a dense mass of these brambles we discovered a very large block of marble standing with an inscription in honour of a priest named Leontomenes; this monument appeared to be of earlier date than any of the others at Lydae' (no. 6).

'A large mass of building next attracted our attention, the chief of which appeared to have been a large Byzantine structure (*F*). Close to this, after digging for two days, we came across a number of pedestals, all of which had once carried statues; many of these pedestals stood apparently in their original places, whilst others had been built in between them, so as to form the foundation wall of some later edifice. These pedestals contained inscriptions in honour of men of Lydae, and others who had distinguished themselves in the service of the state (nos. 20—27 *post*). This spot (*D* in Map), we may assume to have been the Agora of ancient Lydae.'

'At a little distance from here, were three gigantic Heroa, built side by side (*E*), and similar in construction to those already mentioned upon the ridge (*B*). Fragments of statuary lay all around, all headless, and one fragment of a draped female figure seated on a chair or throne. All, however, were distinctly of the Roman period, and we found no inscriptions on or near these Heroa.'

'Down from Mount Souvelah, on which stood the acropolis of the town, there ran a stream right through the centre of the ancient town; it has now

hardly any water in it, but it bears evidence of having been a much more considerable stream in former days. On the left bank of this stream were traces of many buildings, and in a depression filled with a dense growth of brambles and thorns I identified the site of the theatre (*G*). On the slopes above the theatre were traces of many ruins, and a rock-cut Lycian tomb of the usual type (*H*). Another fortress guarded the approach to Lydae from the isthmus, and across the isthmus itself was a wall running up a gentle slope from the Bay of Skopea, and ending at the edge of a steep precipice some 500 feet above the sea on the outer side. Hence Lydae, being so well fortified by nature, needed no walls for the protection of the city itself.

‘After some days of work at Lydae, our guide of Tarsenah took us to another site more inland. We rowed in our boat to a small bay, where were some wood-stores belonging to the nomad Yuruks, who bring hither their cut wood from the mountains for sale to the merchants from the towns. Again we ascended from the shore by a steep path leading through a *col* in the mountains, and after walking for some miles through a dense forest, we saw at some distance below us a lake of considerable size, the southern end of which was shut in by very precipitous cliffs, while the north-western end was low and marshy, terminating in a plain which extended to the mountains behind Caunos. In this lake, near the southern extremity, we saw two islets, on one of which, with the aid of our glasses, we distinguished extensive Byzantine remains; but as there was no boat on the lake, and no village near, we were unable to visit them.’

‘Between the southern end of the lake and the open sea ran a very narrow valley, the part near the lake being densely wooded and overgrown with rank vegetation. All down the valley were traces of Hellenic tombs, some of them constructed of great marbles, and generally three close together, as was the case with the tombs at Lydae. On a plateau, which the Yuruks had lately cleared of trees for pasturage for their flocks, we opened many tombs of an inferior character, containing pottery, glass, and a silver coin of Caunos (*Hellenic Journal*, ix. p. 85). As the valley narrowed towards the lake, the traces of remains were more considerable; a finely executed rock-cut tomb, large blocks of marble and columns and other remains lay amongst the brushwood, and pointed to the existence of a town containing specimens of the best period of Hellenic art. On the top of an escarped rock running down into the lake, and standing several hundred feet above it, was a considerable building of good Hellenic masonry; the surrounding walls were irregular in shape, but on the top a square building appears to have stood—presumably a temple. One of the courses of the outer wall to the south had apparently been inscribed all over. We took impressions of the only two legible inscriptions, the others having become defaced through the peeling of the stone, so that only a letter appeared here and there. Owing to the site being so far from the sea, *i.e.* a two hours’ walk through a forest and over a mountain ridge, we were unable to take anything with us beyond spades and pickaxes; and I only reached the inscriptions to take the squeezes by standing on an

old rotten bee-hive, which had been left there by some wandering tribe.' These two inscriptions have already appeared in the *Hellenic Journal*, *ibid.* p. 88; they inform us that the place was called Lissa or Lissae, a name never alluded to in classical literature.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM LYDAE.

6.

'From a large base at Lydae, with traces above of a colossal statue.' It stood all alone among the brambles in the valley between the sites marked on the Map *E* and *C*<sup>1</sup> and *C*<sup>2</sup>

ΛΕΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΗΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ

ΑΡΥΜΑΞΕΑ

ΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΓΡΟΤΕΡΩΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ  
5 ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΔΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΕΟΝ  
ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΕΞΙΔΙΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΓΕΡΑΙΟΝ ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ  
ΤΕΙΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ Β̄ ΚΑΘ̄ ΔΕ ΑΓΡΕΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΟΝΤΟ  
ΜΕΝΟΥ ΑΡΥΜΑΞΕΥΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕ  
10 ΤΗΝ ΥΘΕΣΙΑΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ  
ΘΕΟΙΣ

Λεοντομένην Ἀπολλωνίδου

Ἀρυμαξέα·

ἱερατεύσαντα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν Ἀγροτέρων  
καὶ Διοσκόρων καὶ Πανὸς, καὶ γυμνασιάρχῃσαντα καὶ  
5 πρυτανεύσαντα δις καὶ γραμματεύσαντα βουλῆς καὶ  
τοῦ δήμου, κατασκευάσαντα δὲ καὶ ποτήριον ἀργύρεον  
τῇ πόλει ἐξ ἰδίου· τὸν καὶ γενόμενον γεραιὸν διὰ βίου·  
Τειμαγόρας β̄, καθ' (ὕθεσίαν) δὲ Ἀγρεόφωντος καὶ Λεοντο-  
μένου, Ἀρυμαξεὺς, τὸν ἑατοῦ πατρῶν κατὰ δὲ  
10 τὴν ὕθεσίαν πατέρα,  
θεοῖς.

Base of a statue in honour of Leontomenes, a distinguished citizen of Lydae. Mr. Bent tells me that this monument struck him as being of older date and of a better style of art than any others which he found at Lydae. This opinion is borne out by the inscription: the lettering is fairly good, and the form ΕΑΤΟΥ (line 9) points to the Augustan age, or (more strictly) to between B.C. 70 and B.C. 1; see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 356 *note* 8, No. 272 *note* 2; Meisterhans, *Grammatik* (2nd ed.), p. 121. Some examples however of a later date occur in Benndorf's *Lykien*: see vol. i. No. 105; vol. ii. No. 177.

Leontomenes is described as of the deme Arymaxa (line 2), the position of which is fixed by No. 16; see *A* on the Map, and compare Nos. 16, 17. The name of one other deme of Lydae is recovered from No. 7, but its site is unknown.

The relationship of the persons named in lines 8 foll. seems to be as follows. Teimagoras' mother, being a widow, had married Leontomenes, Leontomenes therefore became Teimagoras' stepfather (πατρώος, line 9). But Leontomenes proceeded further to adopt him (line 10), as one Agreophon had previously done (line 8).

Leontomenes had served for at least one year (ἱερατεύσαντα, line 3) as priest of Apollo, of Zeus, of the Dioscuri, and of Pan, and also of the Ἀγρότεροι Θεοί. I infer that the town possessed temples, or at least altars, with these several dedications; and the reason why these several priesthoods were combined in one person was, that they had come to be virtually λειτουργίαι, and so could be accepted only by a person of wealth. In the next inscription, of somewhat later date, one Theogenes is described as priest of Apollo, of Zeus, and of Θεῶν Ἀγρέων. The last are evidently the same as Θεοὶ ἀγρότεροι, and who are these? I do not find Ἀγρότερος actually used except of Artemis: but Plutarch, *Amatorius*, ch. 14, writes: ἀλλὰ δορκάδας μὲν θηρένουσι καὶ λαγωὺς καὶ ἐλάφους ἀγρότερός τις συνεπιθωύσσει καὶ συνεξορμᾷ θεός, εὔχονται δ' Ἀρισταίῳ δολοῦντες ὀρύγμασι καὶ βρόχοις λύκους καὶ ἄρκτους κ.τ.λ. Immediately he quotes a line from Aeschylus in which Apollo is styled Ἀγρεύς, an epithet more commonly used of Aristaeus (see Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 65), but also of Pan (Hesych. *s. v.*). Clearly we may understand by Θεοὶ Ἀγρότεροι or Θεοὶ Ἀγρεῖς the deities of the chase and of wild life, Artemis, Aristaeus, Pan, and Apollo under some aspects,—deities not unsuited to this somewhat wild and secluded region.

From line 4 foll. we learn something of the internal condition of the town. It had a gymnasium (line 4), and a Gerousia (line 7, γεραιός): moreover, if this inscription is rightly assigned to the Augustan age, it affords one of the earliest known examples of a Gerousia (see Menadier, *Qua Condizione Ephesii etc.*, p. 61), and also the phrase γεραιὸς διὰ βίου implies that an appointment to the Gerousia for life (though it afterwards, as we know, became the rule) was at this earlier date the exception. We learn further that Lydae had a Boule and Ecclesia: these assemblies are also named in subsequent documents. They had a prytanis and a secretary (line 5), and Leontomenes had served in the former office for two years, and in the latter one year.

## 7.

‘From small base of statue: Lydae.’ Found in the Agora (*D* in Map).

ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΑΑΠΟΛΛΩ  
ΝΙΔΟΥΚΡΗΝΕΙΤΙΣΘΕΥΓΕ  
ΝΗΝΘΗΡΑΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΘΥ·  
ΔΕΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥΚΡΗΝΕΑ

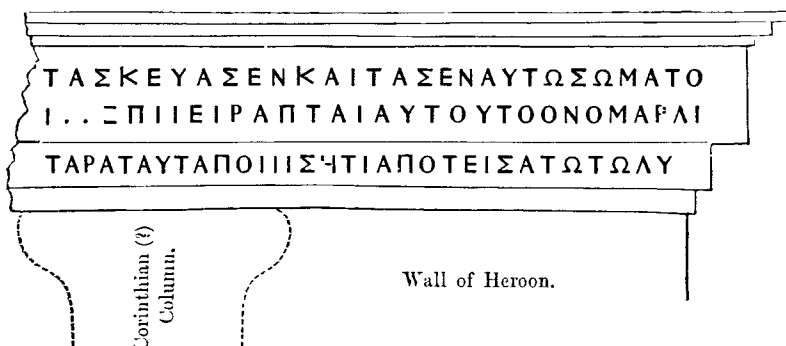
5 ΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΑΙΕΡΑΤΕΥ  
ΣΑΝΤΑΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΔΙ  
ΟΣΚΑΙΘΕΩΝΑΓΡΕΩΝΦΙΛΟΣ  
ΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ

Μηνοδώρα Ἀπολλω-  
νίδου Κρηνεῖτις Θευγέ-  
νην Θηραμένου καθ' ὕ(οθεσίαν)  
5 δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδου Κρηνέα  
τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα, ἱερατεύ-  
σαντα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δι-  
ὸς καὶ Θεῶν Ἀγρέων, φιλοσ-  
τοργίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἐαυτ(ή)ν.

Dedication in honour of Theugenes, priest of Apollo, of Zeus, and of the Θεοὶ Ἀγρεῖς. It resembles the preceding, *q.v.* The deme of Lydae (Κρήνη or Κρήναι) corresponding to the demotic names Κρηνεύς, Κρηνεῖτις, is not otherwise known.

8.

‘End of a long inscription over entrance to Heroon at Lydae; the two following inscriptions were found on the two sarcophagi inside.’ The site is marked *A* on the Map. From MS. copy only; no impression.



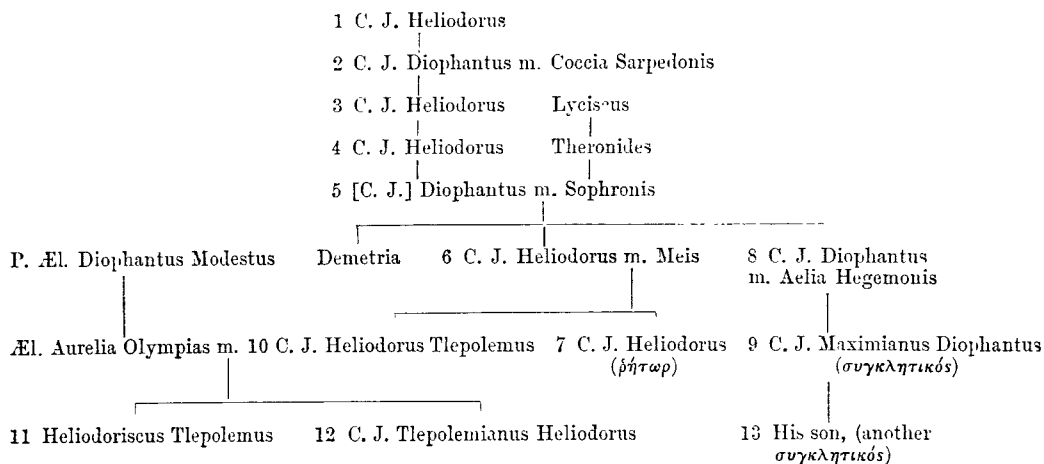
Τοῦτο τὸ ἥρῳον Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώρου υἱὸς Διόφαντος κα]τασκευ-  
ασεν καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ σωματο-  
θήκας ζῶν ἐαυτῷ ὥστε ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ σωματοθήκῃ ἐφ' ἣπερ καὶ] ἐπιγέγραπται  
αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, (κ)αὶ  
τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ ἐαυτοῦ γυναικὶ Κοκκία Σαρπηδονίδι· ζῆ· ἣν δέ τις] παρὰ  
ταῦτα ποιήσῃ τι ἀποτεισάτω τῷ Λυ-  
δατῶν δήμῳ \* . . . ].

The name of the builder of the monument is restored from No. 9. He is to be identified with No. 2 in the family tree. An early date in the first

century A.D. would agree with the comparatively ancient forms of the letters as given in Mr. Bent's copy.

It may assist the reader if I place here my attempt to trace the genealogy of the family which figures so largely in the subsequent documents. The names Caius Julius suggest that the founder of the family was a freedman of the Dictator, and perhaps he received the privilege under Caesar's Will.

## FAMILY TREE OF THE DIOPHANTUS FAMILY.



## 9.

'Sarcophagus from inside the Heroon described under No. 8; profusely ornate. Three heads (probably likenesses), to the front, encircled in garlands and supported by naked female figures, standing on small altars. At the four corners were four draped female figures standing on the shoulders of four old men kneeling. To the sides and back were herds of bulls, supporting garlands which encircled heads of Medusa. Below, there ran the following inscription.' MS. copy only; no impression.

## Γ.ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΓΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΥΙΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΗΣΩΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗΜΟΝΟΥ

Γ. Ἰουλίου, Γ. Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώρου υἱοῦ, Διοφάντου ἡ σωματοθήκη μόνου.

The occupant of this sarcophagus, C. J. Diophantus, son of C. J. Heliodorus, is numbered 2 in the family tree; his father appears as No. 1. Neither of them are Roman citizens, although their mode of naming themselves is thoroughly Roman.

## 10.

'Sarcophagus from within the same Heroon as No. 2: see on No. 8. Cupids lean at either corner, holding bunches of grapes at which partridges are pecking. Round the margin of the sarcophagus is a garland of olive-

leaves. On the lower edge is the following inscription.' MS. copy; no impression. Broken to right.

ΚΟΚΚΙΑΣΣΑΡΠΗΔΟΝΙΔΟΣΗΣΩΜΑΤ

Κοκκίας Σαρπηδονίδος ἡ σωματ[οθήκη μόνης.

See the remarks on Nos. 8 and 9. Sarpedon was naturally a favourite name in Lycia: see *C.I.G.* 4242; Herod. i. 173; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 78, 79.

11.

'From base of statue; Lydae.' Found in the Agora (*D* in Map). From impression.

ΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΛΙ  
ΟΣΓΑΙΟΥΙΟΥ  
ΛΙΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩ  
ΡΟΥΥΙΟΣΔΙΟ  
ΦΑΝΤΟΣΚΑΙ  
ΤΟΝΑΣΚΛΗΠΙ  
ΟΝΣΥΝΤΗΒΑ  
ΣΕΙΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙ  
ΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

5

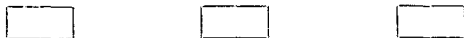
Γάιος 'Ιούλι|ος Γαίου 'Ιου|λίου 'Ηλιοδώ|ρου υἱὸς Διό|φαντος καὶ|  
τὸν 'Ασκληπι|ὸν σὺν τῇ βιά|σει ἐκ τῶν ιδί|ων ἀνέθηκεν.

The dedicator of the statue of Asclepius is probably the C. Jul. Dio-phantus numbered 2 in the family tree, and named also in Nos. 8, 9. The καὶ in line 5 ought to have been followed by καὶ τὴν βύσιν in line 7.

12.

'From grave at Lydae with several inscriptions around it.' Mr. Bent informs me that this tomb was of oblong shape, and was discovered at the spot marked on the Map as *C*1. The ground-plan of the tomb is roughly indicated below. Of the inscriptions Nos. 12, 13, 14 no impression was taken; they are printed from a MS. copy.

Inscribed statue bases, Nos. 13—15.



TOMB.

This end inscribed  
with No. 12.



CΩΦΡΟΝΙΔΑΘΗΡΩΝΙΔΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΝΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΝΤΟΥ(ΗΛΙ)  
 ΘΗΡΩΝΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥΛΥ ΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΛΥΔΑ  
 ΔΑΤΗΝΖΗΣΑΝΤΑΕΤΗΠΕΝΤΗ ΤΗΝΖΗΣΑΝΤΑΕΤΗΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝ  
 ΚΟΝΤΑΕΠΤΑΣΕΜΝΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΑ ΤΑΕΠΤΑΣΕΜΝΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΓΑ

5 ΓΑΘΩΣ

ΘΩΣ

ΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΝΙΟΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΣΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΡΗΜΝ  
 ΟΣΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΗΣΚΑΙΑΛΛΩΝΠΟΛ(ΕΩΝ) . . . ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣΤΟΥΣ  
 ΕΑΥΤΟΥΓΟΝΕΙΣ

Σωφρονίδα Θηρωνίδου τοῦ  
 Θηρωνίδου τοῦ Λυκίσκου Λυ-  
 δάτ(ι)ν ζήσα(σαν) ἔτη πεντή-  
 κοντα ἑπτα σεμνῶς καὶ φιλα-

5 γάθως.

Διόφαντον Ἑλιοδώρο(ν) τοῦ [Ἑλι-  
 οδώρου τοῦ Διοφάντου Λυδά-  
 την ζήσαντα ἔτη πεντήκον-  
 τα ἑπτα σεμνῶς καὶ φιλαγά-  
 θως.

Γαῖος Ἰού(λ)ιος Διοφάντου υἱὸς (Β)ου(λ)τινία Ἑλιοδώρος Ῥ(ω)μ(αῖ)-  
 ος καὶ Λυδάτης καὶ ἄλλων πόλ[εων] πολεῖτης τοὺς  
 ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς.

Mr. Bent notes that the letters ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ in line 2 are doubtful; but they seem right. I have corrected some obvious errors of the copy in lines 1, 3, 6, and have restored Βουλτινία (Vultinia) as the name of the Roman tribe to which Heliodorus belonged; see Nos. 13—19. This Heliodorus is numbered 6 in the family tree: he is by far the most important personage in the family, having filled a number of provincial and civic offices (see No. 17), and obtaining the Roman citizenship. He was evidently a person of wealth.

The account to be given of this and the three following inscriptions appears to be as follows. Heliodorus, who has raised his family to a high rank in the province, first builds a tomb to his parents (No. 12). He further rears a statue to his sister Demetria, close beside the tomb (No. 13), and presently another to his son, who is cut off in the midst of a promising career (No. 14). Lastly, upon his own death, his grandsons reared a third statue in honour of himself (No. 15).

## 13.

'On pedestal beside the same grave.' See notes on No. 12, and the ground-plan there given. From a MS. copy only.

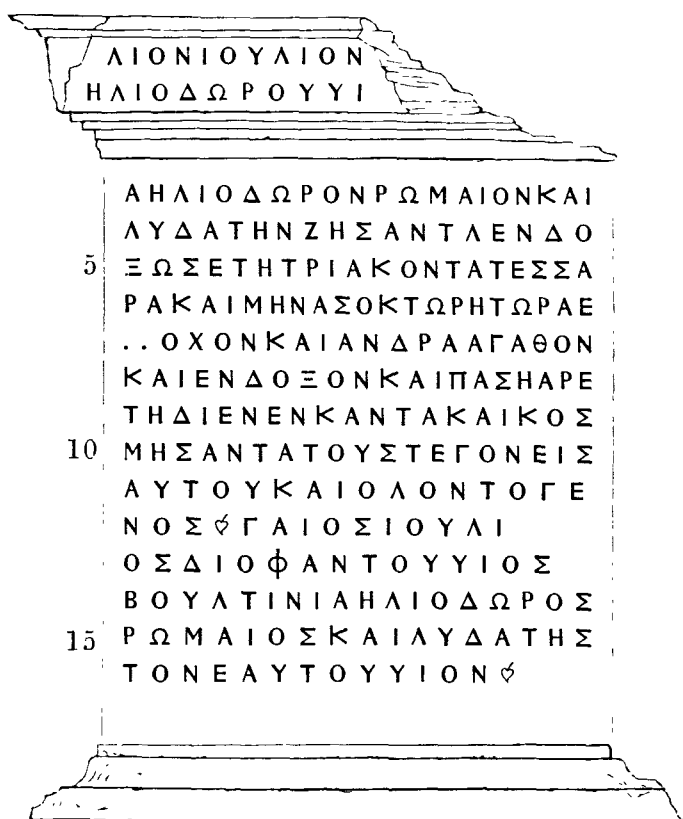
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΝΔΙΟΦΑΝ  
 ΤΟΥΛΥΔΑΤΙΝΚΑΙΤΕΛ  
 ΜΗΣΣΙΔΑΖΗΣΑΣΑΝΕΤΗ  
 ΤΕΣΣΕΡΑΚΟΝΤΑΣΕΜΝΩΣΚΑΙ  
 5 ΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΩΣ  
 ΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙ  
 ΟΣΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ  
 ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΗΣΚΑΙ  
 ΑΛΛΩΝΠΟΛΕΩΝ . . . . ΠΟ  
 10 ΛΕΙΤΗΣΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΗΝ

5 Δημητρίαν Διοφάν-  
 του Λυδάτιν καὶ Τελ-  
 μησιίδα ζήσασαν ἔτη  
 τεσσεράκοντα σεμνῶς καὶ  
 φιλαγάθως  
 Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Διοφάντου υἱ-  
 ὸς Βουλτινία Ἡλιόδωρος  
 Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης καὶ  
 10 ἄλλων πόλεων πο-  
 λείτης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφήν.

Certain letters after ΠΟΛΕΩΝ in line 9 are carefully cut out. On Heliodorus, who erects this statue in memory of his sister Demetria, see the note on No. 12, and also Nos. 14-19. He is numbered 6 in the family tree.

14.

'Base or pedestal for a statue, found near the same tomb described above,' No. 12. From MS. copy; no impression taken.



Γ]άϊον 'Ιούλιον [Γαίου 'Ιουλίου  
 'Ηλιοδώρου νί[ον Βουλτινί-  
 α 'Ηλιοδώρου 'Ρωμαῖον καὶ  
 Λυδάτην, ζήσαντα ἐνδό-  
 5 ξως ἔτη τριάκοντα τέσσα-  
 ρα καὶ μήνας ὀκτώ, ῥήτ(ο)ρα ἔ-  
 ξ]οχον καὶ ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν  
 καὶ ἐνδοξον καὶ πάσῃ ἀρε-  
 τῇ διενέγκαντα καὶ κοσ-  
 10 μήσαντα τοὺς τε γονεῖς  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅλον τὸ γέ-  
 νος· Γάιος 'Ιούλι-  
 ος Διοφάντου υἱὸς  
 Βουλτινία 'Ηλιοδώρος  
 15 'Ρωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης  
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν.

On C. J. Heliodorus who reared this monument, see on No. 12, and Nos. 15–19: he is numbered 6 in the family tree. His son of the same name is described as a ῥήτωρ ἔξοχος (lines 6–7); but as he was cut off at the age of thirty-four (line 5), he had not made a name to be recorded in literature. I can find no mention of him elsewhere.

## 15.

'From base of pedestal, beside the same tomb.' See on No. 12. From an impression.

ΓΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΔΙΟ	Γάϊον 'Ιούλιον Διό-
ΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΝΒΟΥΛΤΙ	φάντου υἱὸν βουλτι-
ΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΝΙΕΓ	νία 'Ηλιοδώρου [ο]ῖ ἔγ-
ΓΟΝΟΙΑΥΤΟΥΓΙΟΥΛΙΣ	γονοι αὐτοῦ Γ. 'Ιούλι[ος
5 ΤΛΗΠΟΛΕΜΙΑΝΟΣΗΛΙ	Τληπολεμιανὸς 'Ηλι-
ΟΔΩΡΟΣΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΥΑΡΙ	όδωρος καὶ 'Ηλιοδωρί[σ-
ΚΥΣΤΑΗΤΑ	κ[ο]ς Τληπόλ[εμος τὸν
ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΟΝΚΙ	γλυκύτατον κ[α]ὶ [εὐεργέ-
ΤΗΝΠΑΠΠΟΝΕΥΣΕΙΙ	την πάππον εὐσε[β]ί-
10 ΑΣΚΑΙΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ	ας καὶ μνήμης χάριν.

Monument in honour of C. J. Heliodorus, a Roman citizen, and a man of mark in his own town of Lydae, and in the province of Lycia: see on Nos. 12–19. His grandsons erect the statue: they are numbered 11 and 12 in the family tree. For their parentage see No. 23. A. C. J. Tlepolemus is mentioned as ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν in an inscription of Cyaneae dated A.D. 149: he may be the same person (see Benndorf and Niemann, *Lycien*, ii. p. 124 n.).

## 16.

‘A large tomb about a mile from Lydae, upon the high plateau (marked A in the Map) overlooking the sea.’ From an impression.

ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΖΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ ΕΚ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΑΙΣ ΠΕ-  
ΡΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΑΙΣ ΚΡΗΠΕΙΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΕΣΙΝ ΜΟΝΟΛΙΘΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣ  
ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΗΛΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΦΑΝ-  
ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑ  
5 ΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΡΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΔΑΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΑΡΥΜΑΞΕΩΝ ΤΕΤΕΙΜΜΕ-  
ΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΙΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝ ΞΕΝΟΙΣ  
ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΤΑΙΑΓΡΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΡΥΜΑΞΕΩΝ ΔΗΜΩ ΤΗΣ  
ΛΥΔΑΤΙΔΟΣ ΕΠΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΔΙΑΤΩΝΕΝ ΛΥ-  
ΔΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΔΗΛΩΚΕΝ

Τ]ὸ μνημεῖον ζῶν κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ θεμελίων σὺν ταῖς πε-  
ρικειμέναις κρηπίεσιν καὶ βάσεσιν μονολίθοις εἰς ἀνδριάντας  
τέσσαρες (sic) ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνηλωμάτων Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διοφάν-  
του τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Διοφάντου υἱὸς Βουλτινία  
5 Ἡλιοδώρος Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης δήμου Ἀρυμάξων, τετειμμέ-  
νος δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις πολειτεῖαις πόλεων πλείστων, ἐν οἷς  
αὐτὸς ἔκτηται ἀγροῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀρυμαξέων δήμῳ τῆς  
Λυδατιδος ἐπὶ δικαίοις πᾶσιν οἷς αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ἐν Λύ-  
δαις ἀρχείων δεδήλωκεν.

The tomb of the same C. Julius Heliodorus (No. 6 in the family tree) whom we have already discussed on No. 12 *ante*; his public offices and distinctions are set forth in Nos. 17, 18 *post*. The tomb was erected upon steps or plinths (*κρηπίδες*, line 2), and comprised monolithic bases for four statues (*ἰδίδ.*), just as in the case of the tomb reared by this same man to his parents (No. 12). Upon one of these statue-bases was engraved the next inscription (No. 17).

The tomb stands ἐν τῷ Ἀρυμαξέων δήμῳ (line 7), Heliodorus having apparently purchased land upon the plateau which formed part of the deme. He is careful to point out that the deme stood within the territory of Lydae (τῆς Λυδατιδος, lines 7, 8), and the last three lines of the document refer to the title-deeds of this purchase which were deposited in the muniment-room of the city (διὰ τῶν ἐν Λύδαις ἀρχείων δεδήλωκεν). The form ἔκτηται in line 7 is classical. (Meisterhans, *Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, p. 139, *note* 1213; for ἀνηλωμάτων, line 3, see *ibid.*, p. 138, *note* 1208). The deme is called in line 5 δῆμος Ἀρυμάξων, and in line 7 δῆμος Ἀρυμαξέων: we may acquit the lapidary of error by supposing Ἀρύμαξα (τά) to be the name of the deme, and Ἀρυμαξεῖς the name of its inhabitants (compare No. 17, line 5).

## 17.

From a statue-base pertaining to the tomb described on No. 16. The site is marked *A* in the Map. From an impression.

. ΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΑΙΟΝΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΤ  
 ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥ  
 ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΝΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟ  
 ΔΩΡΟΝΡΩΜΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΗΝ  
 5 . ΗΜΩΡΥΜΑΞΩΝΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕ  
 ΝΟΝΔΕΚΑΙΑΛΛΑΙΣΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΙΑΙΣ  
 ΠΟΛΕΩΝΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΠΑΣΑΣΑΡ  
 ΧΑΣΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΤΕΤΕΛΕΚΟΤΑΚΑΙ  
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΛΥΚΙΩΝ  
 10 ΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΥΠΕΡΤΗΣΠΑ  
 ΤΡΙΔΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΟΥΣ  
 ΔΩΡΕΑΝΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΕΩΝΕΠΙΔΟΣ  
 ΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΝΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ  
 ΤΑΙΣΠΟΛΕΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΩΚΟΙΝΩΛΥΚΙ  
 15 ΩΝΕΘΝΕΙΚΑΙΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝ  
 ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΥΠΟΛΥΚΙΩΝΤΟΥΚΟΙ  
 ΝΟΥ ΠΑΤ  
 ΠΟΛΕΩΝΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΠΑΣΗ  
 ΑΡΕΤΗΚΟΣΜΟΥΝΤΑΤΗΝΕΚΠΡΟΓΟ  
 20 ΝΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΑΞΙΑΝ

The impression was a good one, but seems to have become accidentally moistened since it was made, so that the letters are blurred and very difficult to read. The text however, as given above, is quite certain; the letters expressed in dots are doubtful. Parts of lines 17, 18 I failed to decipher in spite of many efforts. Happily the sense is obvious enough, as follows:—

Γ[ά]ιον Ἰούλιον Διοφάντου τ[οῦ]  
 Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ  
 Διοφάντου υἱὸν Βουλτινία Ἡλιό-  
 δωρον, Ῥωμαῖον καὶ Λυδάτην,  
 5 δ[ι]ήμῳ Ἀρυμάξων, τετειμημέ-  
 νον δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις πολειτείαις  
 πόλεων πλείστων, πάσας ἀρ-  
 χὰς τῇ πατρίδι τετελεκότα, καὶ  
 ἀρχιερεύσαντα Λυκίων, [πρεσ-  
 10 βεύσαντα πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς πα-  
 τρίδος καὶ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους  
 δωρεάν, πανηγύρεων ἐπίδοσ[ιν]

15 ποιησάμενον τῇ πατρίδι [καὶ  
ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ τῷ κοινῷ Λυκί-  
ων ἔθνει, καὶ τετειμημένον  
πολλάκις ὑπὸ Λυκίων τοῦ κοι-  
νοῦ [καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς] πατ[ρίδος καὶ  
ὑπὸ] πόλεων πλείστων, πάσῃ  
ἀρετῇ κοσμοῦντα τὴν ἐκ προγό-  
νων αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν.

This statue was reared in honour of C. Julius Heliodorus, of whom we have spoken in No. 12 *ante*: he is numbered 6 in the family tree. In building his own tomb in his lifetime (see No. 16), he prepared four bases close to the tomb, to receive as many statues. Upon his death his own statue occupied one of them, with the present inscription on the base.

Line 5: on the deme Arymaxa, see No. 16. Lines 6 foll. Heliodorus was evidently a prominent personage throughout Lycia in his day. He had filled every office in his own little town; he had been honoured with the gift of citizenship in many of the Lycian towns; he had acted as ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Λυκίων, *i.e.* high priest of the provincial κοινόν for the worship of the Caesars. He had gone on embassies without payment, probably as far as Rome (lines 9 foll.). He had also been a munificent promoter of festivals, both at Lydae and at other towns, and in connection with the League (lines 12 foll.).

The coinage and inscriptions of Lycia under the earlier Empire reveal to us a province thickly studded with towns and cities, the home of a vigorous, thriving and well-organized population (see Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 575 foll.; Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* iv. pp. 218 foll.; Strabo, xiv. 664, 665). When Claudius, A.D. 43, deprived Lycia of independence, and united it with Pamphylia, the Lycian League still survived though stripped of power: it became, like the κοινά of other provinces, a mere union for Caesar-worship. Strabo speaks of twenty-three towns as constituting the League, the larger cities having three votes, the middle-sized two, the smaller one vote only. Lydae is not known to be of the number; but perhaps it was admitted later. At all events Heliodorus is described in No. 18 as the first citizen of Lydae who had ever held the chief offices of the κοινόν, Ἀρχιερεὺς Λυκίων, &c.: πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς . . . πατρίδος ἡρχιερατεύκοντα τῶν Σεβαστῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Λυκίῳ ἔθνει, κ.τ.λ. His date is probably early in the second century A.D.

We may certainly identify the subject of this inscription with the ἀρχιερεὺς of Lycia, whose name is quoted in an epitaph from Tlos to fix the date (*C.I.G.* 4247): Ἡ δὲ ἐπιγραφή αὕτη καὶ ἡ ἀσφάλεια ἀναγέγραπται διὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμματοφυλακίων ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώ(ρ)ου τοῦ καὶ Διοφάντο[υ]. Since the foregoing was in type, I find the same person mentioned in the second volume of Benndorf and Niemann's *Lycien* (see p. 125); he was ἀρχιερεὺς from October, 140 A.D. to October 141. This date tends entirely to confirm the genealogy which I have ventured to construct, and agrees quite well with the suggestion that the founder of the family was a freedman of the Dictator.

18.

Base of statue; Lydae: inscribed on front A, and side B. From the site marked *C*<sup>2</sup> in the Map. From an impression.

A.

Ο ΦΑΝΤΟΥΙΟΥΗΛΙΟ  
 ΡΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ  
 ΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΝΡΩ  
 ΛΥΔΑΤΗΝΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΟ  
 5 ΙΕΝΤΑΙΣΚΑΤΑΛΥΚΙΑΝΠΟΛΕΣΙ  
 ΞΗΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΚΟΤΑΤΩΝΣΕΒΑΣ  
 ΝΤΩΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΕΙΚΑΙΓΕΓΡΑΜ  
 ΜΕΝΟΤΑΚΑΙΗΡΧΙΦΥΛΑΚΗΚΟΤΑ  
 ΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΠΡΩΤΟΝΕΚΤΗΣ  
 10 ΟΥΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΤΗΣΛΥΔΑΤΩ  
 ΑΙΕΠΙΔΟΣΕΙΣΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΕ  
 ΝΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΕΚΤΩΝΙ  
 ΞΙΕΙΣΕΡΓΑΕΘΝΙΚΑΚΑΙ  
 ΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΙΑΣΚΑΙΚΥ  
 15 ΤΑΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΚΑΙΕΝ  
 ΙΝΚΑΙΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΩΣ  
 ΥΤΗΤΕΙΔΙΛΛΥΤΟΥ  
 ΡΧΑΣΚΑΙΛΕΙΤΟΥΡ  
 ΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΙΑΣ  
 20 ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΚΟ  
 ΑΩΡΕΑΝ  
 ΕΝΘΟΥΣ  
 ΕΥΣ

B.

ΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝΥΙ,  
 ΚΙΩΝΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΚΑΙ  
 ΤΑΠΟΛΙΝΚΑΙΜΕΜΑΡΤ  
 ΜΕΝΟΝΕΠΙΤΩΚΛΛΛΙΣΤ  
 5 ΚΑΙΥΠΟΗΓΕΜΟΝΩΝΥ  
 ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΑΜΗΝΟΦΑ  
 ΝΟΥΣΚΑΤΑΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝΠ  
 ΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΗΣΜΗΝΟΦΑ  
 ΝΟΥΣΤΡΙΣΤΟΥΠΑΝΚΡΑ  
 10 ΤΟΥΣΛΥΔΑΤΟΥ

A.

Γ. Ἰούλιον Διοφάντου [τ]οῦ Ἡλιο[δω-  
 ρου τοῦ Ἡλιοδ[ώ]ρου τοῦ Διοφάντου  
 υἱὸν Βουλτ]ινία Ἡλιόδωρον Ῥω  
 μαῖον καὶ] Λυδάτην, πολιτευό-  
 5 μενον καὶ] ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι  
 πάσαι]ς, ἡρχιερατευκότα τῶν Σεβασ-  
 τῶν ἐ]ν τῷ Λυκίων ἔθνει, καὶ γεγραμ-  
 ματε]υκότα καὶ ἡρχιφυλακηκότα  
 Λυκίων] τοῦ κοινοῦ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς  
 10 φιλοσεβαστ]ου πατρίδος τῆς Λυδατῶ[ν,  
 μεγάλας δὲ κ]αὶ ἐπιδόσεις πεποιημέ-  
 νου εἰς τὴν πόλ]ιν πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν ἰ-  
 δίων, δόντα δὲ κ]αὶ εἰς ἔργα ἔθνικὰ καὶ  
 εἰς ἀγῶνας καὶ] μονομαχίας καὶ κυ-  
 15 νηγεσίας . . . ]τα πολλάκις καὶ ἐν  
 . . . . . ιν καὶ πολυτελῶς  
 . . . . . υ τῇ τε ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ  
 . . . . . ἀ]ρχὰς καὶ λειτουρ-  
 γίας . . . . . ]μένον ἐνίας  
 20 . . . . . πε]πρεσβευκό-  
 τα . . . . . ]δωρεὰν  
 . . . . . ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λυκίω]ν ἔθνου[ς  
 . . . . . εὐσ[ε-  
 [βῶς . . . . .  
 (Whether more lines are here lost is doubtful.)

B.

τετειμημένον ὑπ[ὸ Λυ-  
 κίων τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ [κα-  
 τὰ πόλιν, καὶ μεμαρτ]υρη-  
 5 μένον ἐπὶ τῷ καλλίστ[ῳ  
 καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνων,  
 Τρύφαινα Μηνοφά-  
 νους κατὰ διαθήκην π[α-  
 τρὸς αὐτῆς Μηνοφά-  
 νους τρὶς τοῦ Πανκρά-  
 10 τος Λυδάτου.

A statue in honour of the C. J. Heliodorus whom we have discussed already in Nos. 12—17. The monument is erected, as we learn from B, by Tryphaena, daughter of Menophanes, in fulfilment of the directions of her father's will. Her father, Menophanes, is described as *τρὶς τοῦ Πανκράτους*, i.e. *Μηνοφάνης Πανκράτους τοῦ Πανκράτους τοῦ Πανκράτους*.

Apparently B is merely the continuation of A, and little has been lost from the foot of A.



Little need be added to what has been said on No. 17 respecting the offices held by Heliodorus. Besides being the provincial ἀρχιερεύς (lines 6, 7; compare No. 17, line 9), he had been γραμματεὺς of the κοινόν, and also ἀρχιφύλαξ (lines 7, 8): the mention of the office of γραμματεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ here confirms the restoration of the same title by Waddington in a similar document to the present one, from Patara (No. 1266). The office of ἀρχιφύλαξ is mentioned in Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1224, from Balbura. The gifts referred to in lines 13 foll. were for the more splendid celebration of the festival of the κοινόν, by means of gladiatorial and other shows; compare *Martyrdom of S. Polycarp*, ch. 12: ὁ δὲ (Ἀσιάρχης) ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια, and *C.I.G.* 2511.

## 19.

‘From pedestal at Lydae.’ There is some doubt as to the exact spot where it was found: Mr. Bent inclines to the Agora, but I think it likely that the statue of Meis stood on one of the bases mentioned in connection with No. 16.

	ΙΕΙΝΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΥ	Μ]εῖν Μενεδήμου
	ΠΙΝΑΡΙΔΑΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΙΝ	Πιναρίδα καὶ Λυδάτιν
	ΖΗCΑCΑΝΕΤΗΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ	ζήσασαν ἔτη τριάκοντα
	CΕΜΝΩCΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΩC	σεμνῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως
5	ΓΑΙΟCΙΟΥΛΙΟCΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ	Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διοφάντου
	ΥΙΟCΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩ	υἱὸς Βουλτινία Ἡλιόδω-
	ΡΟCΡΩΜΑΙΟCΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΗC	ρος Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης
	ΚΑΙΑΛΛΩΝΠΟΛΕΩΝ	καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων
	ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗCΤΗΝΓΕΝΟ	πολείτης τὴν γενο-
10	ΜΕΝΗΝΑΥΤΟΥΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ	μένην αὐτοῦ γυναικα.

The name Μείς is recognised by Suidas *sub voc.* It should be restored in *C.I.G.* 4242, an epitaph from Tlos, where the editor gives Μείδι with a query: read Μείδι. The Μ is partly visible on the stone, and there is only room for one letter. She was the wife of C. J. Heliodorus, of whom enough has been said on Nos. 17 foll.

## 20.

Square statue-base from the Agora, Lydae (*D* on the Map). From an impression.

	ΣΥΛΙΟΝΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ
	ΠΙΟΝΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΝΛΥΔΑΤΗΝΠΟΛΙ
	ΤΕΥCΑΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΤΑΙCΚΑΤΑΛΥΚΙΑΝ
	ΠΟΛΕCΙΠΑCΑΙCΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥCΑΝ
5	ΤΑΤΩΝCΕΒΑCΤΩΝΚΑΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥ

ΣΑΝΤΑΛΥΚΙΩΝΤΟΥΕΘΝΟΥΣΠΡΟΓΓ  
 ΝΩΝΙΠΠΑΡΧΩΝΝΑΥΑΡΧΩΝΛΥΚΙ  
 ΑΡΧΩΝΠΑΤΕΡΑΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΥΚΑ  
 ΤΑΛΙΠΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΕΙΣ  
 10 ΤΟΔΙΗΝΕΚΕΣΔΩΡΕΑΣΕΙΣΘΕΣΙΝ  
 ΕΛΑΙΟΥΛΥΔΑΤΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗ  
 ΜΟΣΤΟΝΙΔΙΟΝΠΟΛΙΤΗΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡ  
 ΓΕΤΗΝΤΟΝΔΕΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΚΑΤΕΣΤΗ  
 ΣΑΝΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΟΙΥΙΟΙΑΥΤΟ  
 15 ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΟΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ

Γ. Ἰούλιον Γ. Ἰουλίου Διοφάντου  
 υἱὸν Διόφαντον Λυδάτην πολι-  
 τευσάμενον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν  
 πόλεσι πάσαις, ἀρχιερατεύσαν-  
 5 τα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γραμματεύ-  
 σαντα Λυκίων τοῦ ἔθνους, προγό-  
 νων ἱππάρχων ναύαρχων Λυκι-  
 αρχῶν, πατέρα συγκλητικῶ, κα-  
 ταλιπόντα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι εἰς  
 10 τὸ διηνεκὲς δωρεὰς εἰς θέσιν  
 ἐλαίου, Λυδατῶν ἢ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆ-  
 μος τὸν ἴδιον πολίτην καὶ εὐερ-  
 γέτην· τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα κατέστη-  
 σαν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ  
 15 Γ. Ἰούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς Διόφαντος

In honour of C. J. Diophantus, a distinguished citizen, who had taken a prominent place in the province (lines 2—5), and had been *γραμματεὺς* of the provincial league (lines 5—6); compare on No. 18A, line 7). Whether he had also been *ἀρχιερεὺς* of the province (line 4), or only *ἀρχιερεὺς* of the Caesars in his own town, seems doubtful from the language of the inscription: but more probably *Λυκίων τοῦ ἔθνους* is to be understood with *ἀρχιερεύσαντα* as well as *γραμματεύσαντα*. If so, Diophantus is only a less distinguished man than C. J. Heliodorus of Nos. 17, 18, &c.; it will be seen from the family tree, in which he is numbered 8, that I suppose him to be his brother. In lines 6—8 we are reminded that in the palmy days of the Lycian League, *i.e.* before Claudius in A.D. 43 placed Lycia under provincial government, the family of Diophantus had supplied men for the highest offices of the League, even that of *Λυκιάρχης*; see Strabo, xiv. 665: ἐν δὲ τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρῶτον μὲν Λυκιάρχης αἰρεῖται, εἰτ' ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ αἱ τοῦ συστήματος. The *ἱππαρχοὶ* and *ναύαρχοι* must have been among these *ἄλλαι ἀρχαί*, though I find them mentioned nowhere else; compare No. 28 *post*, lines 6 foll. More important is the fact that his son (line 8) is a Roman

senator; compare Wilmanns' *Exempla*, No. 665 (from Brixia): 'L. Gaboni Arunculeio Valeriano . . . patri et avo senator(um),' &c. This son is honoured in the next inscription (No. 21).

Lines 8—11: Diophantus had left a perpetual endowment to the city for the supply of oil, εἰς θέσιν ἐλαίου. This was a common form of public munificence; see *C.I.G.* 1122, 1123 (from Argos), τό τ' ἔλαιον θέντα ἐν παντὶ γυμνασίῳ καὶ βαλανείῳ ἀδεῶς ἀπὸ πρωΐας ἄχρις ἡλίου δύσεως παντὶ ἐλευ-θέρω καὶ δούλῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων: similarly *C.I.G.* 2929 (from Tralles), καὶ θέντα ἔλ[α]ιο[ν] ἡμέρας πέντε: *ibid.* 4025 (Ancyra), δι' ὅλης ἐλεοθετήσαντα τῆς ἡμέρας. In *C.I.G.* 4039, ἔλαιον θεῖναι or ἀλείφειν are used indifferently, and so elsewhere. In a document from Attaleia in Lydia (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1887, xi. p. 399) it is directed in a man's will: ὃς ἂν γένηται μου [κλ]ηρονόμος ἐντέλλομαι αὐτῷ [τριετῇ? ἐ]λαιοθεσίαν τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μου πατρὶδι Ἀτταλείᾳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἡμέραν μίαν. The same practice found its way into Roman usage; see Persius, *Sat.* vi. 50; Suet. *Cacs.* 38, *Nero*, 12; Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 47. The bequest of Diophantus takes the form of a permanent endowment for this purpose, but we are not informed how many days' oil it furnished. For εἰς τὸ διηνεκές see the commentators on *Hebrews* vii. 3, and x. 1, 12, 14.

The statue is erected to Diophantus by vote of the boule and ecclesia, at the expense of his sons: the name of one only remains (lines 11 foll.).

## 21.

'A round base of statue: Lydae.' From the Agora (*D* in the Map). From an impression.

5 ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΔΙΟ  
ΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΝΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑ  
ΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΟΝΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΝ  
ΛΥΔΑΤΗΝΤΟΝΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΝ  
ΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝΛΥΔΑΤΩΝ  
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΤΟΝ  
ΙΔΙΟΝΠΟΛΙΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ  
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

5 Γ. Ἰούλιον Γ. Ἰουλίου Διο-  
φάντου υἱὸν Βουλτινία  
Μαξιμιανὸν Διόφαντον  
Λυδάτην τὸν κράτιστον  
συγκλητικὸν Λυδατῶν  
ἢ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν  
ἴδιον πολίτην καὶ  
εὐεργέτην.

In honour of C. J. Maximianus Diophantus, a Roman senator, for whose parentage see the preceding inscription.

22.

Square statue-base, from the Agora. From an impression.

ΑΙΛΙΑΝΗΓΕΜΟ  
ΝΙΔΑΛΥΔΑΤΙΝ  
ΤΗΝΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΗΝ  
ΜΗΤΕΡΑΚΑΙΜΑΜ  
5 ΜΗΝCΥΝΚΛΗΤΙ  
ΚΩΝΤΗΝΕΥΕΡΓΕ  
ΤΙΝΔΙΑΠΑΡΕCΤ  
ΕΝΛΥΛΑΤΩΝ  
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗ  
10 ΜΟC

*Αἰλίαν Ἑγεμονίδα Λυδάτιν | τὴν κρατιστὴν | μητέρα καὶ μάμ|μην  
συνκλητι|κῶν τὴν εὐεργέ|τιν διαπαρέστ[η|σ]εν Λυδατῶν | ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ  
δῆ|μος.*

There is no proof that this lady was a member of the Diophantus family : but it is an obvious conjecture that she was the wife of C. J. Diophantus (No. 8 in the family tree), who is spoken of in No. 20 *ante* as *πατὴρ συγκλη-τικοῦ*. We have only to suppose that C. J. Maximianus Diophantus (9 in the family tree, see on Nos 20, 21) had a son who was also a senator, and we can explain *μητέρα καὶ μάμμην συνκλητικῶν*.

23.

'Base of statue; Lydae.' From the Agora. From an impression.

ΑΙΛΙΑΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΑΘΥΓΑ  
ΤΕΡΑΠΟΠΛΙΟΥΑΙΛΙΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΙ  
ΤΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΜΟΔΕCΤΟΥΚΑΛΥΝ  
ΔΙΑΝΚΑΙΛΑΔΑΤΙΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ  
5 ΤΟΥΠΡΩΤΟΥΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩC  
ΗΜΩΝΑΙΟΦΛΙΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩ  
ΡΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ  
ΤΗΝΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΗΝ  
ΛΥΔΑΤΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟ  
10 ΔΗΜΟCΤΟΝΔΕΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑ  
ΛΕΤΕC ΑCΕΝΑΙΑΝΕCΤΗ

*Αἰλίαν Αὐρηλίαν Ολυμπιάδα θυγα-  
τέρα Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Διοφά|ν-  
του, τοῦ καὶ Μοδέστου, Καλυν-  
δίαν καὶ Λυδάτιν, γυναῖκα*

- 5            τοῦ πρώτου τῆς πόλεως  
              ἡμῶν Γα(ίου) Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώ-  
              ρου, τοῦ καὶ Τληπολέμου,  
              τὴν ἀξιολογωτάτην  
              Λυδατῶν ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ  
 10        δῆμος· τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα  
              κατεσ[κε]ύασεν καὶ ἀνέστη-  
              [σεν ὁ δεῖνα.]

In framing the genealogy of the family I have assumed that Heliodorus and C. J. Tlepolemus and C. J. Tlepolemanus Heliodorus, who erected a statue in honour of their celebrated grandfather C. J. Heliodorus (see on No. 15), were the sons of the Tlepolemus who married Olympias.

## 24.

Base of statue from the Agora at Lydæ. From impression.

- ΑΜΕΙΝΙΑΝΤΟΝΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥ  
 ΛΟΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΕΙΝΙΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΛΥΔΑΤΗΝ-ΓΕ  
 ΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΙΑΤΡΟΝ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ  
 5        ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΝ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟ-  
              ΓΟΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΔΟΞΩΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΑΡ-  
              ΧΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΝ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ  
              ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣ ΤΕ ΤΕΛΕΚΟΤΩΝ  
              ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΡΩΜΗΣ  
 10        ΡΕΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥ  
              ΕΙΔΙΑΣ ΔΕΚΑΙ ΕΡΓΑ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ  
              ΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΕΙΜΠΗ  
              ΝΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ-  
              ΚΟΣΙΝ ΖΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΤΗ ΜΟΚΑΙ  
 15        ΜΗΝΑΣ ΕΞ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
              ΜΕΙΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΑΡΓΑΙΩΝ ΕΘΗΡΩΝ  
              ΝΟΣΟΙ ΓΟΝΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΕΛ-  
              ΦΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΘΗΡΩΝ

- Ἀμεινίαν τὸν καὶ Ἀριστόβου-  
              λον Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ Ἀμεινίου  
              τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου Λυδάτην, γε-  
              νόμενον ἱατρὸν τέλειον καὶ  
 5        φιλόλογον,—γονέων καὶ προ-  
              γόνων ἐνδόξων, πᾶσαν ἀρ-  
              χὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν τῇ πόλει

- φιλοτείμως τετελεκότων  
καὶ πρεσβείας μέχρι Ῥώμη[ς δω-  
10 ρεὰν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνο[υς, ἐ-  
ξ ἰδίας δὲ καὶ ἔργα τῇ πό[λει  
πεποιημένων, τετειμη[μέ-  
νων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐ[λ-  
κόσιν,—ζήσαντα ἔτη μθ καὶ  
15 μῆνας ἕξ, Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀ-  
μεινίου καὶ Κλεάργασις Θήρω-  
νος οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδελ-  
φοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ Θήρω[ν.

In honour of a physician of Lydae, Ameinias Aristobulus, a man of learning and of distinguished family. I have not been able to discover any mention of him elsewhere. But it happens that Galen does mention another physician of Lycia more than once, Diophantus, who probably belonged to the family discussed in the preceding inscriptions; see Galen, *Περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων τῶν κατὰ τόπους*, lib. ix. Tom. 2, ed. Basil. 1538, p. 299, line 13: *κωλικὴ ἦν ἐθαύμαζεν Ἀρίστων ὡς Διόφαντος ὁ Λύκιος*; compare *ib.* lib. v., p. 228, line 43.

25.

‘On a pedestal which once bore a statue; from the Agora.’ From a MS. copy by Mr. Bent: no impression taken.

ΣΕΞΣΤΟΝΜΑΡΚΙΟΝ	Σέξστον Μάρκιον
ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΝΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΝ	Πρεῖσκον,—πρεσβευ(τῇ)ν
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ	Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥΣΕΒΑ	Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβα-
5 ΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΩΝ	στοῦ καὶ πάντων
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝΑΠΟ(ΤΙ)	Αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπὸ [Τι-
ΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ	βερίου Καίσαρος,—
ΤΟΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΔΟΤΗΝ	τὸν δικαιοδότην
ΛΥΔΑΤΩΝΟΔΗΜΟΣ	Λυδατῶν ὁ δῆμος.

Sextus Marcius Priscus is known from other documents to have served under Vespasian as *legatus pro praetore* of Lycia and Pamphylia; see *C.I.G.* 4270, 4271 (both from Xanthus), and the inscription from Patara in Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1265. The official Greek for *legatus* was *πρεσβευτής*, but here *δικαιοδότης* is used (line 8) which properly stands for ‘juridicus’: but Marquardt (*Röm. Alt.* iv. p. 411) cites several instances from Lycia in which *δικαιοδότης* is used of a *legatus* (see *C.I.G.* 4237, 4238c, and 4236, 4240).

Thus far all is plain. What, however, is the meaning of lines 2—7 of our inscription: ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΝ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ πάντων Αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπὸ [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος? If we restore

πρεσβευ(τή)ν, and suppose that Mr. Bent, in copying the word, omitted some ligature like Η, the difficulty is what to make of the word in such a connection. M. Waddington, who has seen the inscription as copied by Mr. Bent, is unable to suggest any suitable explanation, supposing the copy to be correct. Mr. Arthur H. Smith suggests that after πρεσβευ(τή)ν some word like ἀρχιερέα has been omitted by stone-cutter or by copyist. Nothing is known of Marcius Priscus, except from the inscriptions already cited; compare No. 36 *post*

26.

‘One of two stones close together at Lydae’; found near the Agora. Compare the next document. Paper impression.

ΓΑΙΟΝΑΝΤΙΟΝΑΥΛΟΝ	Γάϊον Ἀντίον Αὐλόν
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟ	Ἰούλιον Κουαδράτο[ν
ΤΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕ	τὸν σωτήρα καὶ εὐε[ρ-
ΤΗΝΚΑΙΤΗΣΗΜΕΤΕ	γέ]την καὶ τῆς ἡμετέ-
5     ΟΛΕΩΣ ἸΚΟ'Ν	ρας π[ό]λεως [κα]ὶ κοιν[ῆ]
ΑΤΙΔΙΑΝΠΑΝΤΩΝ	καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν πάντων Λυ-
ΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔ	δατῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δ[η]-
ΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ	μος εὐχαριστίας
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ	ἔνεκεν.

C. Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus, in whose honour this monument was erected, is well-known as a provincial governor: Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 175) points out that he was legatus pro praetore of Lycia and Pamphylia immediately before becoming consul suffectus in July 93 A.D. (see Klein, *Fasti Consulares*, ad annum); *i.e.* he left Lycia towards June 92, or at the latest at the end of May 93: but June 92 is by far the most probable date. His legation, M. Waddington reminds me, would probably, according to custom, have lasted three or four years. See the next document, and Liebenam, *Forschungen*, p. 121.

27.

‘From base of a statue at Lydae’; near the Agora. Paper impression.

Λ . . . ΕΒΩΝΙ	. . . Τρ[ε]βώνι[ον] Πρό-
ΚΛΟΝΜΕΤΤΙΟΝΙ	κλον Μέττιον [Μό-
ΔΕΣΤΟΝΤΟΝΣΩ	δεστον τὸν σω[τῆ]-
ΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ	ρα καὶ εὐεργέτην
5     ΚΑΙΤΗΣΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ	καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας
ΠΟΛΕ . ΣΚΑΙΚΟΙΝΗ	πόλε[ω]ς καὶ κοινῆ
ΚΑΙΚΑΙΙΔΙΑΝΠΙΑΝ	καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν π<ι>άν-
ΤΩΝΛΥΔΑΤΩΝ	των Λυδατῶν
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
10     ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ	εὐχαριστίας
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ	ἔνεκεν.

In honour of Mettius Modestus, legatus pro praetore of Lycia and Pamphylia.

This monument was found close beside the preceding, No. 26. Both inscriptions are drafted in the same terms, and are in honour of two legati of the province, whose administrations were probably not separated by any long interval. As to Quadratus, his date is pretty certainly known to have lasted from June 89 or 90 A.D. to June 92. In a private communication with me upon the subject, M. Waddington has kindly pointed out that Mettius Modestus, who was already known as having been legate of Lycia (*C.I.G.* 4279, 4280; compare Waddington, *Fastes*, p. 189), cannot have succeeded Quadratus immediately. 'The successor of Quadratus was almost certainly Domitius Apollinaris, mentioned in an inscription of Tlos (*C.I.G.* 4236), who was consul suffectus the 1st of May 97, and consequently had returned from his Lycian legation in the summer of 96; his legation, if it lasted, as was the custom, three or four years, would just fill up the time required after Quadratus. Modestus cannot have succeeded Apollinaris, because we know that he had been exiled by Domitian (Plin. *Ep.* i. 5). He was, of course, recalled by Nerva, and may have been sent out to Lycia in 97, in the room of Domitian's last nominee, but in that case his legation was a short one. For early in Trajan's reign we find the post occupied by Julius Marinus, who was consul suffectus in October 101 or 102, and consequently governed Lycia either from June 97 to June 100, or from June 99 to June 101 (*C.I.L.* ix. 4965 and *C.I.L.* vi. 1492; *C.I.G.* 4237, 4238c). This would leave very little space for Modestus.

Upon the whole, therefore, I should place Modestus immediately after Julius Marinus, so that his legation should begin in June 100 or 101. This would suit perfectly, for there is no other name to propose for these particular years.'

If we accept this conclusion of M. Waddington, we must allow Quadratus and Modestus to have been separated in their government of Lycia by an interval of eight or nine years. Liebenham, however, would place the legation of Modestus in Lycia during the reign of Domitian, and before that of Quadratus (*Forschungen*, pp. 260, 425). Certainly the nearer we can bring their legations together in point of date, the better it will agree with the close conjunction of the two monuments (Nos. 26, 27).

The last four letters of line 1, though broken, are quite certain. We thus recover two more of Mettius Modestus' names, viz. Trebonius Proclus. Mommsen has remarked (*Hermes*, iii. p. 70) on this fashion for accumulating names which prevailed in the Flavian era.



## INSCRIPTIONS FROM PATARA.

28.

‘On a large stone lying near the entrance to the theatre at Patara; 12 ft. by 4 ft. 10 in. This we dug up and turned over; the letters are large and well cut, but we had not paper enough to take a squeeze.’ From Mr. Bent’s MS.

ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝΟΔΗΜΟΣΠΟΛΥΠΕΡΧΟΝΤΑΠΟΛΥΠΕΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΔΗΜΗ  
ΕΡΓΟΥ  
ΠΑΤΑΡΕΑΤΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΘΕΩΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΝΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ  
ΚΑΙ . . . ΟΙΣ  
ΑΙΤΟΥΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΣΑΥΤΩΝΟΙΚΟΥΚΑΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΝΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΩΟΥ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ  
(Ι)ΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ  
ΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ . . . ΟΝΚΑΤ.  
5 ΛΥΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΑΣΤΡΕΙΣΑΡΧΑΣΑΡΞΑΝΤΑΕΝΕΝΙΕΝΙΑΥΤΩΦΙΛΟΔΟΞ  
ΩΣΤΕΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣΙΑΝΤΑΠ  
ΡΩΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΥΠΟΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΥΠΟΤΟΥ  
ΚΟΙΝΟΥΤΩΝΛΥΚΙΩΝΚΑΙΙΟΜΟ . . . .  
ΦΗΣΑΝΤΑΛΥΚΙΟΙΣΚΑΙΥΠΟΙΠΠΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΕΠΙΣΣΤΑΤΗ  
ΣΑΝΤΑΤΟΝΜΕΤΑΠΕΙ . . . ΠΟΝΤΙΚΑΣ  
ΙΩΣΠΕΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΜΕΝΟΝΔΕΚΑΤΗΝΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΝΤΗΝΕΠΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ  
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΚΑΙΤΗΝΕΠΙΤΑΣΧΕ . . ΗΝΙΟ ?  
.. ΟΥΚΑΙΠΟΛΛΩΝΕΡΓΩΝΤΩΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΕΙΣΑΚΑΙΕΠΑΓΓΕΙΛΑ  
ΜΕΝΟΣΕΚΤΗΣΙΔΙΑΣ . . . . ΔΩ.  
10 . . . . . ΤΑΠΑΣΗΑΡΕΤΗΚΑΙΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΚΑΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΙΔΙΑΦΕ  
ΡΟΝ . . . . .

Mr. Bent notes that the latter portion of the lines is somewhat defaced. I give his text as it stands in his copy, but in the cursive I have made some more or less certain corrections.

Παταρέων ὁ δῆμος Πολυπέρχοντα Πολυπέρχοντος Δημη(τρι)ου  
Παταρέα τὸν ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου θεῶν ἐπιφανῶν Γερμανικοῦ καὶ [Δρ]ο(ύ)-  
σου ?  
καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου, καὶ προφήτην τοῦ πατρῶου Ἀπόλ-  
λωνος, [καὶ  
ἱ]ερατεύσαντα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ πρυτανεύσαντα καὶ γραμματεύσαντα [μόν]ον  
κα[ι]ροῖς  
5 (δ)υσὶν καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντα ἐν ἐνὶ ἐνιαυτῷ φιλοδόξως, τειμηθέντα  
καὶ εὐεργετήσ<ι>αντα π-

πρώταις καὶ δευτέραις τειμαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν  
 Λυκίων, καὶ (ν)ομο[γρα-  
 φήσαντα Λυκίοις, καὶ ὑποῖππαρχήσαντα, καὶ ἐπισστατήσαντα τ(ῶ)ν μετὰ  
 Πει . . . . πο(λι)τικ(ῶ)ς [καὶ  
 ἰσῶς, πεπολιε(ν)μένον δὲ κα[ῖ] τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι Γερμανι-  
 κῶ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τ(ῆ)ς (γ)ε[νεθ](λ)ό[ν] θεοῦ Σεβ-  
 αστ[οῦ], καὶ πολλῶν ἔργων τῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἃ καὶ ἐπαγγελάμενος ἐκ  
 τῆς ιδίας [οὐσίας ἔ]δω[κεν ἐπιστ-  
 10 ατήσαν]τα, πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαφέρουντ[α].

In honour of Polyperchon, a distinguished citizen of Patara, in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. Πολυπέρχων is condemned as a *jalsu lectio* by Ellendt on Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 12; but Mr. Bent's copy shows that it existed as a variant, however degenerate. So also *C.I.A.* ii. 723, line 7, and Cauer, *Delectus*, No. 429, line 23.<sup>1</sup>

In line 2 I have ventured to suppose a reference to Germanicus and to Drusus the son of Tiberius, who may well have received these combined honours at Patara upon their untimely deaths in A.D. 19 and 23 respectively: compare *C.I.G.* 318, where Böckh quotes from the coins Δροῦσος Καῖσ. Γερμ. Καῖσ. νέοι θεοὶ φιλάδελφοι. For the phrase θεοὶ ἐπιφανείς of the house of the Caesars, see *C.I.G.* 4240d, an inscription of Tlos in honour of Tiberius. Perhaps καὶ [Σεβα]σ[τοῦ] would be a better restoration still.

Line 3: προφήτης, *i.e.* of the oracle of Apollo at Patara. Lines 5, 6: if my restorations are correct, it is recorded that Polyperchon had enjoyed the unique distinction of holding the office of priest, prytanis, and secretary twice over, besides holding all three offices in one year together. Line 5: εὐεργετήσαντα 'had been declared an εὐεργέτης.' Understand by πρώταις καὶ δευτέραις τειμαῖς merely that he had received these honours twice. Line 6: observe that he had been thus honoured by the Lycian League, which was not superseded until A.D. 43. At present the Lycian League was free, as described by Strabo, xiv. p. 664. Accordingly it had a νομογράφος, a ὑποῖππαρχος, and commissioners (ἐπιστάται) of various kinds (lines 7, 10). For other officers of the League, see on No. 20 *ante*. Line 8: the suggestion of ἡ γενέθλιος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ comes from *C.I.G.* 3957. For the last line compare Waddington-Le Bas, No. 1290 (from Aperlae) *fin.*: ...φιλ[ο]δόξως, πάσῃ ἀρετῇ [καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ *vel tale quid* διαφ]έροντα.

Base of statue found in pulling down a wall, the inscribed side being built inwards: not copied before. From MS. copy of Mr. Bent.

<sup>1</sup> I am reminded by a friend that Sintenis restores Πολυπέρχων on the authority of the MSS. in two passages of Plutarch (*Dion*,

53; *Demetrius*, 9); also in *Eumenes*, 12 the unsibilated form is a variant.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ  
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΤΡΑΙΑΝΩ  
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΣΩΤΗΡΙ  
5 ΚΑΙΚΤΙΣΤΗ  
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩ

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραϊανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστη  
Ὀλυμπίῳ.

Statue to the Emperor Hadrian.

30.

From base of statue found (with the inscribed face turned inwards) in pulling down wall at Patara : not copied before. From MS. of Mr. Bent.

ΣΑΒΕΙΝΗΙ  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΙ  
ΝΕΑ ΗΡΑΙ

Σαβείνῃ Σεβαστῇ νέα Ἡρά.

In honour of the wife of the Emperor Hadrian. In *C.I.G.* 1073 she is styled νέα Δημήτηρ, and *ibid.* 435 νεωτέρα θεός, but I have not noticed her styled Ἡρά elsewhere.

31.

‘Three large stones from top of mediaeval wall at Patara. Each stone 4 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 4 in.; probably not copied before, since they were apart, upside down, and difficult to reach.’ From Mr. Bent’s copy.

(For *Uncial Text* see p. 79.)

Apparently the bases of three statues, the central one in honour of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, that upon the left to his wife Faustina, that upon the right to Lucius Verus, his colleague in the empire : compare *C.I.G.* 4283b (Patara); Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λουκίῳ Ἀϋρηλίῳ Οὐήρῳ Σεβαστῷ, σωτῆρι.

I have assumed that the commencement of two of the inscriptions was engraved upon the plinth of their respective statues, and was therefore lost : I have frequently observed inscriptions to be imperfect from this or a similar cause.

The Velia Procula of Patara of *A* is known to us from a dedication by her to the Emperor M. Aurelius, and a restoration of the theatre dated A.D. 147 (*C.I.G.* 4283). Her father, Quintus Velius Titianus, is also there named ; his relationship to the Cl. Flavianus Titianus of our inscription is not certain.

C.

ΤΟΝΤΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΑ  
ΡΓΕΤΗΝΠΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΣΚΑΙΟΙΚΟΥΤΟΥ  
Υ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ  
ΥΙΑΝΟΣΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]  
[Λούκιον Αὐρήλιον Βήρον]  
Σέβαστον τὸν σωτήρα  
καὶ εὐεργέτην παντὸς  
γένους καὶ οἴκου τοῦ  
ἐαυτοῦ—Τιβέριος  
Κλ. Φ(λ)αυιανὸς Τιτιανός.

B.

ΝΕΙΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ  
ΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ  
ΟΣΓΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΟΙΚΟΥ  
ΥΤΟΥ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ  
ΟΥΙΑΝΟΣΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]  
[Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον]  
, Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν  
τὸν σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην  
παντὸς γένους καὶ οἴκου  
τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ—Τιβέριος  
Κλ. Φλαυιανὸς Τιτιανός.

A.

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΜΑΡ  
ΗΛΙΟΥΑΝΤΟΝΕΙ  
ΒΑΣΤΟΥΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ  
ΑΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ  
ΚΑΙ . ΚΛ-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΚΛΑ  
ΑΝΤΩ  
ΤΟΝΣ  
ΠΑΝΤ  
ΤΟΥΕΑ  
ΚΛ-ΦΛΑ

Αὐτοκρ.] Καίσαρος Μάρ-  
κου Αὐρήλιου Ἀντωνεί-  
νου Σε]βαστοῦ γυναῖκα  
Φαυστεύ]αν εὐεργέτην  
... καὶ Κλ. Οὐ. Πρόκλα.

Previous stone missing.

## 32.

‘From base of statue at Patara, dug up by me.’ From Mr. Bent’s MS.

	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ	Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον
	ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΝ ΠΑΤΑΡ	Ἀνδρόνεικον Παταρ-
	ΕΑΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΛΑΥ	έα, Τιβερίου Κλαυ-
	ΔΙΟΥ ΕΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ	δίου Εὐδήμου υἱὸν
5	ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ	τοῦ φιλοπατρίδος,
	ΚΑΘΩΣ ΔΙΕΤΑΞΑΤΟ	καθὼς διετάξατο
	ΟΠΑΤΗΡΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ	ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ
	ΠΡΟΣΘ . ΟΥΑΓΡΟΥΑ	προσ[ό]δ[ον] ἄγρου Ἀ-
	ΛΙΑΔΟΣ . . ΒΕΡΙΟΣ	λιάδος, [Τι]βέριος
10	ΚΛ . . . . ΟΣ . . . ΛΦΡΟ	Κλ[αύδι]ος [Ἐπ]αφρό-
	ΔΕΙ' . . . . . ΕΥΣ	δει[τος Παταρ]εὺς
	ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ	ἀνέστησεν.

Statue in honour of Tib. Cl. Andronicus, son of Tib. Cl. Eudemus, erected by Tib. Cl. Aphrodisius, in accordance with his father’s will, out of the rent of the land called Ἀλιάς.

## 33.

‘A pedestal dug up at Patara’ by Mr. Bent. From impression.

	ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ	Παταρέων ἡ πόλις ἡ μη-
	ΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΚΙΩΝ	τρόπολις τοῦ Λυκίων
	ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΑΥΡΗ(ΛΙΟΝ)	ἔθνους Μάρκον Αὐρή(λιον)
	ΙΜΒΡΑΝΤΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑ	Ἰμβραν τρις τοῦ Ἀθηνα-
5	ΤΟΡΟΥ ΠΑΤΑΡΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΡΟ	γόρου Παταρέα καὶ Ῥό-
	ΔΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΞΑΝΘΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ	διον καὶ Ξάνθιον τον
	ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΝΕΙ	εὐγενέστατον ἱερoneί-
	ΚΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΝ ΒΟΥ	κην παράδοξον, βου-
	ΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΚΡΙΣΕΙ	λῆς καὶ δήμου κρίσει.

In honour of a successful athlete (*ἱερονείκης*), by vote of the boule and ecclesia. He was a native of Patara, but had received the citizenship of Rhodes and of Xanthos; after the usual style of the agonistic inscriptions, these distinctions are duly mentioned, and the favourite epithet *παράδοξος* is added. Examples abound; for one from Lycia, compare *C.I.G.* 4240c. Patara and Xanthus, alone, I believe, among the Lycian cities, style themselves ἡ μητρόπολις τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους in the inscriptions (lines 1, 2): for the title see Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* iv. p. 186.

34.

'From base of column found amongst brambles at Patara; probably not copied before.' From Mr. Bent's MS.

5

ΘΕΟΥΣΩΤΗ  
ΡΟΣΕΔΡΑΙΟΥ  
ΑΣΦΑΛΟΥΣ  
ΚΑΙΠΟ  
ΓΕΙΔΩ  
ΝΟΣΕΔΡΑΙΟΥ  
ΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΥ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ

Θεοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἐδραίου Ἀσφαλοῦς, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἐδραίου, καὶ Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Dedication or ex-voto in honour of the deities that bring fair weather ('Ἡλιος Ἀπόλλων), and who protect the sea from storm and the land from earthquake. Ἀσφάλειος (here, however, Ἀσφαλῆς) was one of the recognised epithets of Poseidon: Ποσειδῶνι δὲ, παρέξ ἣ ὅποσα ὀνόματα ποιηταῖς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐς ἐπὼν κόσμον καὶ ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐπιχώρια ὄντα ἕκαστοι τιθεῖται, τοσαῖδε ἐς ἅπαντας γεγόνασιν ἐπικλήσεις αὐτῷ, Πελαγαῖος καὶ Ἀσφάλιος τε καὶ Ἴππιος (Pausan. vii. 21, § 3). I suppose Ἐδραῖος must be one of those merely 'local' epithets to which Pausanias here alludes; so much meaning, however, had the epithet at Patara, or at least in the mind of the dedicator of the column, that it is individualised as a separate deity—Θεὸς Σωτὴρ Ἐδραῖος Ἀσφαλῆς. The epithet Ἐδραῖος is not known of elsewhere as applied to Poseidon or any other god. Its meaning is illustrated by the New Testament usage of the word (1 Cor. xv. 58, Ἐδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι; Col. i. 23, τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ Ἐδραῖοι, καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι, κ.τ.λ.), and it is appropriate to Poseidon, though rather as the quieter of earth than of sea; compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, fin.: Ποσειδῶνα ταῖς ὀγδόαις τιμῶσιν. ἣ γὰρ ὀγδοὰς κύβος ἀπ' ἀρτίου πρῶτος οὖσα καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τετραγώνου διπλασία, τὸ μόνιμον καὶ δυσκίνητον οἰκεῖον ἔχει τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ὃν ἀσφάλειον καὶ γαιήοχον προσονομάζομεν. Poseidon Asphaleios appears on the imperial coins of Rhodes; see *Hist. Num.* p. 542, where Mr. Head refers to the Rhodians landing at Thera, as described by Strabo, i. p. 57: μετὰ δὲ τὴν παύλαν τοῦ πάθους ἐθάρρησαν πρῶτοι Ῥόδιοι θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἐπιπροσπλεύσαι τῷ τόπῳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἀσφαλείου ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. Although Patara was the home of Apollo, yet the association of Apollo Ἡλιος with Poseidon Asphaleios in our inscription may suggest some Rhodian influence.

‘From tortoise tomb at Patara, far up the valley.’ Impression.

ΤΗΝ ΧΕΛΩΝΗΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ  
 ΠΟΛΛΑΙΑΣ ΟΝΟΣΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ ΠΑΤ  
 ΡΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΜΟΝΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΑΦΗΝΑ  
 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΑΝΟΙΞΑ  
 5 ΗΘΑΨΑΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΑ Ο  
 ΛΕΙΝ ΤΩ ΙΕΡΩ ΤΑΤΩ ΦΙΣΚΩ ✕ Σ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΜΑΡΤ  
 ΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΜΒΩΡΥΧΟΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΟ  
 ΛΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΓΕΛΛΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΙΟΥ  
 ΤΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΙΜΗΜΑ  
 10 ΑΥΤΟΝ ΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΧΡΗΜΑ  
 ΜΕΝΗΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ  
 ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΛΙΚ  
 ΝΙΟΥ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΙΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΙ  
 Ο ΔΗΛΟΥΤΑΙ

Τὴν χελώνην κατεσκεύασεν  
 Πόλλα Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἀρχελάου Πατ[α-  
 ρίς ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ μόνῃ εἰς αὐτὴν ταφήναι[ε  
 ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲνα ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἀνοῖξαι[ε  
 5 ἢ θάψαι τινα, ἢ τὸν παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσαντα ὁφεί-  
 λειν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ φίσκῳ ✕ σ καὶ εἶναι ἀμαρτ[ω-  
 λὸν καὶ τυμβωρύχον, ἔχοντος παντὸς τοῦ βο[υ-  
 λομένου ἐξουσίαν προσανγγέλλειν τὸν τοιοῦ[τό  
 τι ποιήσαντα ἐπὶ τῇ τῷ τρίτον τοῦ τειμήμα[τος  
 10 αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, περὶ ὧν καὶ διὰ τῆς κεχρημα[τισ-  
 μένης ὑπὸ τῆς Πόλλας οἰκονομίας  
 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Γαίου Λικ[ιν-  
 νίου Φρόντωνος τοῦ Φιλείνου, Περειτ[ί]ου  
 θ', δηλούται.

Line 1 affords the only example of the word *χελώνη* used to designate a funeral monument. Mr. Bent implies that the form of the tomb suited the name, but he does not describe it. It was probably a variation of the waggon-roofed tomb so common in Lycia. *Οἰκονομία* in line 11 must be a ‘deed.’

For the rest, it suffices to refer to the remarks and references given on No. 40 *post*. The numeral is perfectly clear in line 6; compare No. 39.

‘From large bath at Patara, over door into second chamber; probably copied before, but many letters cleared out by me, by removal of cement. Stone 6 ft. long by 2½ ft.’ Mr. Bent’s MS.

This is the inscription edited by Waddington-Le Bas, No. 1265. Mr. Bent's copy agrees generally with that of Le Bas, but the following corrections are of importance. The space between Σεβαστός in line 2 and the words τὸ βαλανεῖον in line 3 is uninscribed, so that no lacuna should be indicated. Lines 5, 6, 7, begin as follows:—

ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΘΡΑΙΣΔΙΑΣΕΞΤΟΥ, κ.τ.λ.

. ΟΥΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ . ΚΙΩΝΣΥΝ . Η . ΗΘΕΝΤΩΝ, κ.τ.λ.

ΙΟΥΕΘΝΟΥΣΧ . . . κ.τ.λ.

Accordingly we can now restore the inscription thus:—

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλαυϊανὸς Οὐεσπασι[ανὸς | Σεβαστὸς τὸ βαλανεῖον  
κατεσκεύασεν | [ἐκ] θεμελίων σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ ταῖς |  
κολυμβήθραις διὰ Σέξτου Μαρκίου Πρεῖσκου πρεσβευτοῦ | [τ]οῦ ἀντιστρατήγου  
[ἐ]κ (τ)ῶν συν[τ]η[ρ]ηθέντων χρημάτων κ[οι]νῶν | (τ)οῦ ἔθνους Χ [number of  
drachmas] καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παταρέων πόλεως | συντελειώσαντος καὶ ἀφιερῶ-  
σαντος τὰ ἔργα.

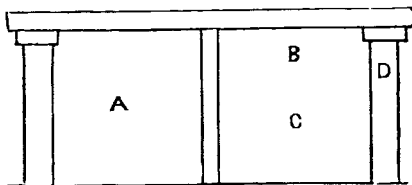
Mr. Bent noticed a similarly constructed bath three-quarters of a mile further up the valley, apparently overlooked by travellers.

37.

‘From a tomb at Patara, very probably copied before.’ Mr. Bent's MS. This is already published, *C.I.G.* 4292. I note the following points. Line 1: read ΗΡΩΟΝ. Lines 2, 3: ΔΩΣΙΟΥ is confirmed, and it needed no correction as suggested in *C.I.G.* Addenda, p. 1127, ‘videndum ne fuerit Δωσι[θέ]ου. Line 7: the lapidary's blunder, ΟΦΕΙΛΕΣΕΙ, is confirmed. Mr. Bent has also copied *C.I.G.* No. 4293, where the disputed numeral sign is certainly /C in the impression.

38.

‘From rock-cut tomb in forest behind Patara.’ Good impression taken by Mr. Bent. This is given in *C.I.G.* No. 4291, after Fellows, *Lyca*, p. 180. The shape of the tomb is somewhat like this:—



The left-hand door (A) is broken open. The upper part of the other door (B) is occupied with a rudely-cut bas-relief. Three figures, fully robed in himation, stand facing spectator; the central figure, male, is taller than the other two, of whom the left is certainly, the other probably, a female figure.



84 INSCRIPTIONS FROM CASAREA, LYDAE, PATARA, MYRA.

The attitude of each is the same: the left hand hangs down at the side, the right hand, muffled in the fold of the himation, is lifted upward. Immediately beneath the relief is the inscription (*C*):—

ΕΥΤΥΧΙΩΝΤΩ	Εὐτυχίων τῷ
ΤΕΚΝΩΕΠΑΦΡΟ	τέκνῳ Ἐπαφρο-
ΔΕΙΤΩΜΝΕΥΑ	δείτῳ μνε(ί)α-
ΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ	ς ἐνεκεν.

On the upper surface of the adjoining pilaster (*D*) is another rude relief. Two hands are held up, with thumbs just touching, and palms exposed. Immediately beneath I decipher in the impression only ΩΔΙΚΑΙΙΙ.

39.

An excellent impression by Mr. Bent of the funeral inscription published already, *C.I.G.* 4293. It is carefully inscribed, and nearly every letter is plain. The numeral in line 9 is Τ, or Sigma with a flourish (=200), as in No. 35 *ante*, line 6. Otherwise the version in *C.I.G.* is correct.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MYRA.

40.

On a sarcophagus dug up at Myra by Mr. Bent. From an impression.

ΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΝΡΟΔΑ  
 ΣΥΝΦΕΡΟΥΣΗΣΟΙΚΟΥΣΑΕΜΥΡΟΙΣ  
 ΑΥΤ-ΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΗΣ · ΚΑΙΟΙΣ  
 ΑΝΖΩΣΑΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΩΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣ  
 5 ΕΤΕΡΟΝΕΚΗΔΕΥΣΗΟΦΕΙΛΗΣΕΙ  
 ΜΥΡΕΩΝΩΔΗΜΩ\*ΦΤΗΣΙΣΑΝΓΕΛΙ  
 ΛΣΟΥΣΗΣΠΑΝΙΤΩΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΩΕΠΙ  
 ΘΤΩΗΜΙΣΕΙΘ

28

Τ]ὸ μνημεῖον κατέστησεν Ῥόδα  
 Συνφερούσης οἰκοῦσα ἐν Μύροις  
 ἐ]αυτῇ καὶ τέκνοις αὐτῆς, καὶ οἷς  
 ἂν ζῶσα συνχωρήσω· ἐὰν δέ τις  
 5 ἕτερον ἐνκεδεύσῃ ὀφειλήσει  
 Μυρέων τῷ δήμῳ \* φ· τῆς ἰσανγγελί-  
 ας οὔσης παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ  
 τῷ ἡμίσει.

I embrace this opportunity of referring the student of Lycian and other funeral inscriptions to the valuable paper of Professor G. Hirschfeld, 'Ueber die griechischen Grabschriften welche Geldstrafen anordnen,' in *Königsberger Studien*, I. 1887. His main purpose is to show that the custom of threatening fines for infringing the rights of a grave and its occupant was not derived from Roman usage, but was purely Greek, and attained its first and fullest development in Lycia, the classical land of tombs.

Inscriptions, even funeral ones, from Myra are rare. Several new ones, however, are published by Benndorf and Niemann, *Lykien*, i. p. 68, 70. Hirschfeld can only cite two that threaten a fine (p. 102, *ibid.*); the present one makes a third. The owner of the grave Rhoda is a resident alien (line 2); may this account for the use of *ἰσανγγελία* (*εἰσαγγελία*) in the legal phrases which conclude the document? On the Lycian tombs *προσαγγελία* is the usual term in this connection; see *C.I.G.* 4288 (Patara): *τῆς προσανγγελίας οὐσ[ης] παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ*; compare Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1314 (from Myra): *τῆς πράξεως οὔσης παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐ[πὶ] τῷ ἡμίσει*; Hirschfeld, *ibid.* p. 108.

E. L. HICKS.

## HISTORICAL NOTES ON CERTAIN MODERN GREEK FOLK-SONGS.

THE historical interest and value of many of the folk-songs of Modern Greece has been often acknowledged, and historians have not disdained to quote them as evidence either of facts or of popular feeling. It is therefore desirable in the case of any ballad supposed to relate some historical event to determine as exactly as possible to what event it really refers.

In Passow's most valuable work,<sup>1</sup> as was inevitable in so large a collection of popular traditional poetry, a few errors seem to have been made in naming, dating and classifying the pieces. Some apparent cases of such error I propose here to examine.

Three ballads numbered by Passow cxciv., cxcv., cxevi. are headed "Αλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Literally translated they run as follows :—

### CXCIV.

'They have taken the city, have taken it, have taken Salonica: they have taken also St. Sophia the great monastery, which has three hundred *semantra*<sup>2</sup> and sixty-two bells, for every bell a priest and for every priest a deacon. And just when the Holy Things were coming forth and the King of the World,<sup>3</sup> a voice came from heaven, from the mouth of angels: "Cease the psalmody, and lower the Holy Things, and send word to the Frankish land that they may come and take them, that they may take the golden Cross and the holy Gospel-Book and the Holy Table, so that they [the Turks] may not defile it." When our Lady heard this the icons shed tears. "Be still, O sovereign Lady, weep not, nor shed tears. Again, after times and seasons, it shall be your own again."

### CXCv.

'God gives the sign, the earth gives the sign, the heavenly things give the sign, St. Sophia also gives the sign, that great monastery, with four hundred *semantra* and sixty-two bells, which has three hundred nuns and a

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<sup>1</sup> *Popularia Carmina Græciæ Recentioris*, ed. Arnold Passow, Lipsiæ, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Plates of wood or metal struck by a mallet, often used instead of bells in Greek churches.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the ceremony of 'The Great Entrance' in the Liturgy of the Greek Church, when the elements for the Holy Eucharist are carried in procession.

thousand monks. On the left hand chants the king,<sup>1</sup> on the right the patriarch. A voice came to them from God, and from the judgment of an angel: "Priests, put down the scrolls and close the Gospel-Books. They have taken the city, have taken it, have taken Salonica: they have taken St. Sophia, the great monastery: they have taken boys from their teachers, girls from their embroidery work: they have taken mothers with their children, ladies with their husbands."

## CXCVI.

'God gives the sign, the earth gives the sign, the heavenly things give the sign, St. Sophia also gives the sign (that great monastery with four hundred *semantra* and sixty-two bells, for every bell a priest and for every priest a deacon), that they should begin the Cherubic Hymn and that the King was about to come forth. A dove came down from the midst of heaven: "Cease the Cherubic Hymn, and let the Holy Things be lowered; priests, take the sacred vessels, and let your light go out, O candles, for it is the Will of God that the city should become Turkish. Only send word to the Frankish land that three ships may come, one to take the Cross and the other the Gospel-Book, the third and best of all to take our Holy Table, lest the dogs should take it and pollute it."'

'Our Lady was troubled, and the icons shed tears. "Be still, O sovereign Lady, and ye icons, weep not. Again, after times and seasons, it shall be your own again."'

In considering the first two ballads it seems strange, if their theme be the fall of Constantinople, that such prominent mention should be made of *Salonica*.

The explanation I would suggest is that No. cxcv. was really composed on the capture of Thessalonica by the Turks in 1430. The whole tenor of the ballad agrees with this supposition.<sup>2</sup> That city had also its church of St. Sophia, and it is a poetical and touching idea that the tidings of its desecration by the infidels should be conveyed by a heavenly voice to the congregation in the greater church of the same dedication at Constantinople.

The mention of the Emperor and the Patriarch together taking part in the Divine service is hardly applicable to the state of things at Constantinople at the moment of its fall, but is quite appropriate if the time be twenty years earlier. In 1453 the patriarchate was vacant, and ecclesiastical dissensions severed the Emperor from his people in their religious ceremonies, whereas in 1430 the usual harmony reigned between the Byzantine authorities in Church and State.

On the other hand there is no reason to doubt that the fall of Constantinople is indeed the subject of No. cxcvi.

<sup>1</sup> Here the emperor is clearly meant.

<sup>2</sup> Its last lines picture in a few words a scene of misery, exactly such as Joannes Anagnostes, himself one of the captives, describes in great

detail at the taking of Thessalonica. Joannes Anagnostes, *De Extremo Thessalonice. Excidio* 14, ed. Bonn.

The best known and most popular of these ballads, No. exciv., has probably been produced in later times by a fusion of the other two.

Perhaps the lines—

‘πῆραν τὴν πόλιν, πῆραν τὴν, πῆραν τὴν Σαλονίκη,  
πῆραν καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν Σοφίαν, τὸ μέγα μοναστήρι’—

had taken strong hold of the minds of the people, and the practice of calling the imperial city specially ἡ πόλις, together with the greater renown of the Byzantine St. Sophia, would facilitate the transference of these lines from a lament for Thessalonica to a lament for Constantinople.

Among the ballads classed by Passow as *Carmina Cleptica certi aevi*, No. cxi., ‘Ο Κολέττης, is dated 1810, but it should be among the *Carmina Historica*, with the date of 1831, for Kolettēs is certainly the statesman Coletti who took so prominent a part in the War of Independence and the subsequent vicissitudes of Greece, and as the song represents him saying—

‘Lads, let there be a Constitution,’  
Παιδιά, νὰ γένῃ σύνταγμα—

it evidently refers to his appeal in 1831 to the military chiefs of Northern Greece to aid him in driving the adherents of Capodistrias from power, with the professed object of restoring constitutional government.<sup>1</sup>

Among the *Carmina Historica*, No. cexliii., ‘Ο Πύργος Καστανίας, is dated doubtfully 1822—1826. Its real date, however, is proved to be some fifty years earlier by a note to the memoirs of Theodore Kolokotronēs<sup>2</sup> edited by G. Tertsetēs, where this song is quoted at full length as referring to the last conflict of the father of Kolokotronēs with the Turks in 1780. Constantine Kolokotronēs, the father, was a military chieftain in the Morea, of a family which boasted that they had never submitted to the Ottomans. He took part in the disastrous revolt stirred up by the Russians in 1769, but, when the Albanians sent by the Porte to put down the rebellion showed themselves enemies to Greeks and Turks alike, he aided the Capitan Pasha in crushing them. In his turn, however, he refused the Pasha’s demand that he should do homage and give one of his children as a hostage. The Pasha thereupon besieged him and his friend Panagiotaras in the tower of Kastanitzā, near Marathonisi (Gytheion), and after a brave defence of twelve days they perished in a desperate attempt to cut their way out.<sup>3</sup> The ballad expresses their defiance of the Capitan Pasha with a foreboding of their fall.

#### *The Tower of Kastania.*

‘Withered are the hillsides, withered are the plains, withered is Kastania with its tower, which holds the many Klephts, the men of Kolokotronēs, who go to church [in apparel] laden with silver and gold, and girded with their

<sup>1</sup> See Finlay, *History of Greece* (Oxford 1877), vol. vii. pp. 73—85.

<sup>2</sup> This work is entitled *Διήγησις Συμβάντων*

τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φυλῆς ἀπὸ τὰ 1770 ἕως τὰ 1836 (Athens 1846). The note is on p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> *Διήγησις Συμβάντων*, p. 6.

swords. And they came out, and consulted at the church door, and Constantine said to them: "This joy that we have will bring us woe. Last night I saw in my sleep how my cap was burnt and the tassel of my sword; the cap is my wife, the tassel my children. This joy that we have will bring us woe." Panagiotaras heard him, and burst out laughing: "What sayest thou, gossip Constantine, thou Kolokotronês? Never will the tower of Kastania be taken, neither sooner nor later, nor now is it taken. Only display your standards, and set them on the tower, that the Capitan Pasha and the janissaries may see them."

No. cclv., *Tò Missolonggi*, has the date of 1825 assigned to it, as if its subject were the great siege of Missolonghi in that year, but Trikoupês expressly mentions it as commemorating the first siege in 1822. 'Greece,' he says, 'rejoicing in the overthrow of this hostile expedition, celebrated the triumph for a long time by singing the Song of Missolonghi, which an unknown and unlettered minstrel composed. Here are its first verses'<sup>1</sup>:—

Those which he proceeds to quote answer very closely to the first five lines of Passow's cclv.:—

'Would that I were a bird to fly aloft, to behold from afar poor Missolonghi, and how the Hellenes fight with Turks, with Pashas. The cannon-balls fall like rain, and the bombs like hail, and the light musketry like sands of the sea.'

Moreover, in the last six lines, not quoted by Trikoupês, which run thus—'Omer Pasha called Marko, and said to him: "Marko, bring out the keys, and all your arms, and come with me to Roumeli that thou mayest be made captain. I will write forthwith to the City that a firman may be brought thee." And Marko answered: "Omer Pasha, what sayest thou? This is not Jannina, this is not Arta"'—it can hardly be doubted that they who speak are Omar Pasha Vrionês and Marko Botzarês, who commanded respectively the besiegers and defenders of Missolonghi in 1822.

FLORENCE MCPHERSON.

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<sup>1</sup> Trikoupês, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπανάστασεως* (London 1856), τομ. β', p. 380.

## METROLOGICAL NOTES.

## III.—HAD THE PEOPLE OF PRE-HISTORIC MYCENAE A WEIGHT STANDARD ?

IN a former paper in this *Journal* (Vol. viii.) it was maintained that the Greeks had a weight standard long before the introduction of coined money from Asia, the unit of which was the same as the Attic-Euboic system (130–135 grains Troy) of historical times, and that in the Homeric poems the gold Talanton and cow represented the same value, the unit of metal being adjusted to the more primitive unit of barter. The evidence then adduced was of a purely literary nature, as it was not in my power to appeal to any actually existing weights. I have since obtained some data of a concrete kind which, I think, lends some support to my former contention.

Dr. Schliemann (*Mycenae and Tiryns*, p. 354) found (in the tomb south of the Agora at Mycenae) ‘four spirals of thick quadrangular, and seven spirals of thick round gold wire, five plain gold rings, and a similar one of silver, of which a selection is represented under No. 529. ‘I remind (adds Dr. Schliemann) the reader that similar spirals and rings of thick gold wire occur in the wall paintings of the Egyptian tombs. They are supposed to have served as presents, or perhaps as a medium of exchange.’ These rings are now at Athens, and my friend Mr. E. A. Gardner of Gonville and Caius College, the Director of the British School at Athens, has kindly procured for me their weights.<sup>1</sup> Before going further I wish it to be clearly understood that I do not assume the rings to be what is called *ring-money*, but I think that I am justified in assuming that they are ornaments probably made on a given weight. It has been the custom in all countries for the person who desires to have an article of jewellery made to give to the goldsmith a certain weight of gold or silver, out of which the latter manufactures the desired ornament. Such is the practice at the present day in India ; you give the goldsmith so many gold mohurs or sovereigns, or rupees, as the case may be, he squats down in your verandah, and with a few primitive tools quickly turns out the article you desire, which of course will weigh as many mohurs or sovereigns as you have given him (provided that you have stood by all the time, keeping a sharp look out to prevent his abstracting any of the metal). That in like fashion gold ornaments for ordinary wearing purposes were regularly of known weights in ancient times is shown clearly by the account of the

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<sup>1</sup> I wish likewise to express my gratitude to M. Kumanudes for his kindness in giving Mr. Gardner every facility for weighing the rings.

presents given to Rebekah by Abraham's servant, 'a gold earring of half a shekel weight and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight' (Genesis xxiv. 22). To take another example from a very different region, the golden ornaments of the ancient Irish (of which numerous specimens exist in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy) were made according to specified weight. Thus queen Medbh is represented as saying: 'My spear-brooch of gold, which weighs thirty ungas, and thirty half ungas, and thirty crosachs and thirty quarter [crosachs].' O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Irish*, iii. 112. But we need not go beyond Greek soil itself for such illustrations. The well-known story of Archimedes and the weight of the golden crown, which led to the discovery of specific gravity, is sufficient to show that the practice in Greece was such as I describe, and certainly no one will venture to maintain that the people of Mycenae were inferior in civilization to the ancient Irish. If the latter weighed the gold in their ornaments, surely the former, who so surpassed all that has been left by the ancient Irish in their pottery, sculpture and metal work, may well be assumed to have followed a similar practice.

I shall now proceed to tabulate the weights of the Mycenaean rings.

METAL.	DESCRIPTION.	WEIGHT.	
		GRAMMES.	GRAINS TROY.
Silver	Plain ring	8·8	137
Gold	Spiral	8·5	132
"	"	9·9	153
"	"	10·8	167
"	Plain ring	15·9	248
"	"	16·5	257
"	"	19·0	297
"	"	19·4	303
"	Spiral	20·5	320
"	"	21·5	335
"	Plain ring	22·0	340
"	Spiral	29·3	452
"	"	39·0	612
"	"	39·5	617
"	"	41·5	643
"	"	42·2	654
"	"	42·3	655
"	"	42·8	662

Inspection of the table shows us a group of two rings weighing 132 and 137 grains respectively at the lowest, and a group of four weighing 643, 654,



655, and 662 grains respectively as the highest. It will at once be seen that the latter are the fivefold of the former. This is probably one of the most primitive of multiples, derived as it is from counting by the fingers, and we know that in Greek the word *πεντάζειν* (lit. to count five, *πέμπε* Aeolic) was used as a general word for *counting*. The fivefold of  $132 = 660$ , which is startlingly near 662. It is quite possible that the silver ring has gained rather than lost weight by oxydization. The third lowest group of two, 248 and 257, seem to be the double of the first group. From this it would seem as if 132—137 was the unit on which they are all scaled.

The two rings weighing 612 and 617 grains seem to group themselves along with the four heaviest, but the interval between 617 and 662 is considerable. Again the two rings weighing 153 and 167 ought to go with the lowest group, but the interval between 137 and 167 is considerable, and the same may be said of 297 and 303 in relation to 340. The ring weighing 452 grains occupies a distinct position approximating no other group. It seems to be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times the unit of 132—137.

It is perfectly possible that in those weights which are not more or less exact multiples of the unit we have to deal with halves and quarters of the unit, as I have already suggested in the case of the ring of 452 grains. Thus 303 and 297 would represent very closely  $2\frac{1}{4}$  times the unit 135 grains; and 617 and  $612 = 4\frac{1}{2}$  times the unit; and 167 gives  $1\frac{1}{4}$  times the unit. The unit 132—137 is of course identical with the light Babylonian shekel of 130 grains, and the *talent* of gold in Homer, which I have shown in a former number of this *Journal* to have been of like weight, and which was known as the Attic and Euboic standard in historical Greece. We need not be surprised to find  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of this unit. In Homer (*Il.* xxiii. 751) we find a half-talent (*ἡμιτάλαντον*) of gold. Of course I do not pretend to say that I have absolutely proved the existence of a weight standard at Mycenae, for the data are too few to make a complete induction but I think that they are sufficient to make it very probable that such a standard did exist. Indeed on *a priori* grounds it is natural to expect it, for the existence of rings made on a given unit has been proved for Egypt and Syria. If my view should turn out to be correct, it puts beyond doubt the truth of my former proposition, that the Greeks employed a weight standard similar to the light Babylonian shekel and Euboic stater before they learned from the East the art of coining money.

#### IV.—HOW WERE THE PRIMITIVE WEIGHT STANDARDS FIXED?

IN previous articles I have shown that the oldest Greek unit of weight, the talent of gold in the Homeric Poems, was identical with the cow or value of a cow, that the same identity existed between the cow in Italy and the gold unit (itself the same as the Homeric Talanton) which lies at the base of the Roman system, and that the like relation existed between cow and gold unit in Sicily. I had further advanced the suggestion that we ought to seek

for the origin of the weight standard or standards from which probably all systems in the Old World, modern as well as ancient (save the modern French), have been derived, arguing that as the cow or ox was the most widely diffused common unit of barter, it was natural that when metals came into use as a medium of exchange, the metallic unit would naturally represent the value of the older unit of barter. Ordinary law of supply and demand would fix more or less accurately the amount of gold which one man would be willing to give, and another man be willing to accept for an ox. One point however I did not make clear, and that was how it came to pass that primitive men were able to fix with what practically was a high degree of accuracy the amount of gold which represented the value of an ox. It is, I think, this difficulty which is supposed to surround the process of fixing accurately the metallic unit thus derived which has induced metrologists to make up their minds that weight units could not have been arrived at empirically, and in consequence of this to seek their origin in the scientific astronomy of Babylonia.

We shall now endeavour to ascertain if the empirical method is so difficult, working on the only true scientific method in such inquiries, always back from the known to the unknown.

It is plain that if we could find a people who, whilst familiar with the use of gold, had as yet no system of weight, but had to resort to some other method for estimating the value of their wealth, we should thus get a clear idea of the conditions immediately preceding the invention of weights. From what I have said above, we cannot expect to find any such community in the Old World. The New World on the other hand supplies us with what we desire. When the Spaniards under Cortes conquered the Aztecs of Mexico, that people, although in a high state of civilization, had as yet no system of weights. In consequence of the want of weights the Spaniards experienced some difficulty in the division of the treasure, until they supplied the deficiency with weights and scales of their own manufacture. There was a vast treasure of gold, which metal, found on the surface or gleaned from the beds of rivers, was cast into bars, or in the shape of dust, made part of the regular tribute of the southern provinces of the empire. The traffic was carried on partly by barter, and partly by means of a regulated currency of different values. This consisted of transparent quills of gold dust, of bits of tin cut in the form of T, and of bags of cacao containing a specified number of grains (Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*).

From this we get an insight into the first beginnings of weights. Some natural unit (and by natural I mean some product of nature of which all specimens are of uniform dimension) is taken, such as the quill used by the Aztecs. The average-sized quill of any particular kind of bird presents a natural receptacle of very uniform capacity. These quills of gold dust were estimated at so many bags containing a certain number of grains. The step is not a long one to the day when some one will balance in a simple fashion a quill of gold dust against seeds of cacao, and find how many seeds are equal in weight to the metal. Nature herself supplies in the seeds of plants

weight units of marvellous uniformity. If any one objects to my assumption that the Aztecs were on the very verge of the invention of a weight system, my answer is that another race of America, whose political existence ceased under the same cruel conditions as that of their Northern contemporaries, I mean the Incas of Peru, who were in a stage of civilization almost the same as that of the Aztecs, had already found out the art of weighing before the coming of the Spaniards, although they were inferior to the Mexicans in so far as they had not a well-defined system of hieroglyphic writing, nor of currency such as the latter possessed. Scales made of silver have been discovered in Inca graves. The metal of which they are made shows that they were only employed for weighing precious commodities of small bulk.

That my proposition that nature has supplied natural weight units in seeds is not a mere speculation of one defending a pet thesis I shall now proceed to demonstrate by unquestionable evidence.

Let us turn to the known, and by getting fresh touch with *fact* return again with new vigour to the more speculative parts of the subject. The very name *grain*, which we employ to express our lowest weight unit, would of itself suggest that originally some kind of grain was used in weighing, but as our *grain* is known as the *grain Troy*, and we do not as yet know its origin, it will not do to argue vaguely from etymology. But a little inquiry soon brings us to a time when the grain Troy did not as yet form the basis of English weight, and when a far simpler method of fixing the weight of the King's coinage was employed. It was ordained in 12 Henry VII. c. v. that the bushel is to contain eight gallons of wheat, and every gallon eight pounds of wheat, and every pound twelve ounces of Troy weight, and every ounce twenty sterlings, and every sterling to be of the weight of thirty-two grains of wheat that grew in the midst of the ear of wheat according to the old laws of this land (Ruding, II. 58).<sup>1</sup>

Going backwards we find by 8 Edward I. that the penny was to weigh 24 grains, which by weight then appointed were as much as the former 32 grains of wheat. By the *Statutum de Ponderibus* (of uncertain date, but placed by some in 1265) it was ordained that the penny sterling should weigh 32 grains of wheat, round and dry and taken from the midst of the ear (Ruding, I. 360.) Going back still a step further we find that by the laws of Ethelred every penny weighed 32 grains of wheat, and, as the penny of Alfred weighs 24 grains Troy, we need have no hesitation in assuming that it was likewise fixed on the same standard of 32 grains of wheat. Thus from Alfred (871—901) to Henry VII. (1485—1509) we find the penny fixed by this primitive method, and the actual weights of the time, as tested by the balance at the present day, afford proof positive of the practical accuracy of the method.

Now all the mediaeval standards were based upon the gold solidus of Con-

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for all these facts relating to wheat grains in England to Mr. F. Seebohm, the author of the *English Village Community*.

stantine the Great (Marquardt, ii. 30) except that of Ireland, which seems to have been borrowed from Rome before the changes introduced by that monarch. The Irish system runs thus: the unga (*uncia*) is the highest unit and contains 24 *scrapalls* (scrupuli), each *scrapull* contains 3 *pinginns* (a name evidently borrowed from the Saxon invader), and each *pinginn* weighed 8 grains of wheat (ocht ngrainne cruithnechta comtrom na pinginne airgid, O'Donovan's Supplement, *s.v.* pinginn). Here as in England the grain of wheat is the basis of the system, whether introduced from Rome or (as I think more likely) already in use among the Kelts.

But the *solidus* of Constantine (of which 72 went to the Roman pound of gold) was divided into 24 *siliquae* or *κεράτια* (from whence comes *carat*). The *siliqua* or *κεράτιον* was the seed of the *carob* or *St. John's Bread* (*ceratonia Siliqua* L.). Thus the lowest unit in the Roman system, as usually given, is found to be a seed, and the same holds of the Greek system, for the drachm is given as containing 18 *κέρατα* or *κεράτια* (ἡ δὲ δραχμὴ κέρατα ιη'. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν· ἔχει γραμμὰς τρεῖς· τὸ γράμμα ὀβολοῦς β'. ὁ δὲ ὀβολὸς κέρατα γ'. τὸ δὲ κέρατιον ἔχει σιτάρια δ'. Fragm. ap. Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* 248). From this we see that the *κεράτιον* was further reduced to 4 *σιτάρια*, grains of wheat, and from another table of weights given by Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* ii. 128, we learn that the *siliqua* equals 3 grains of barley (*siliqua grana ordei* iii.). Hence it appears that 3 grains of barley = 4 grains of wheat.<sup>1</sup> Thus both Greek and Roman systems finally rest upon grains of corn, as did the English and Irish.

Before passing on from the Greek and Roman systems, I may add that even higher denominations than the *siliqua* were expressed by seeds. The *lypinus* = 2 *siliquae*, and its Greek representative the *θερμός* is given a like value (*Metrol. Script.* 81). In the *Carmen de Ponderibus*, ii. 16, *grana lentis* are made equal to 6 *siliquae*, and a like number of grains of spelt are given a similar value.

We shall next advance towards the East, and take up the Semitic systems. There can be little doubt (says Queipo, I. 360) that the Arab system of weight was based on the grain of wheat. The *habba* was their smallest unit. 4 *habbas* = 1 Karat, the latter of course represents the *κεράτιον*, and the former

<sup>1</sup> We saw above that 24 grains of Troy weight when introduced into England were equal to 32 grains of wheat, or in the proportion of 3 : 4. By the quotations given above we learn that the *siliqua* was equal to 3 grains of barley, and 4 grains of wheat; hence barley grains are to wheat as 3 : 4. From this it follows that the Troy grain is nothing more than the barleycorn, which had been used in preference to the grain of wheat in part of the Roman Empire. Furthermore this relation between barleycorns and wheat can be proved as an actual fact. In September 1887 I placed in a balance 32 grains

of wheat, and 24 grains of barley, taken from ricks of corn grown on the same field, near Cambridge, and repeated the experiment thrice; each time they balanced so evenly that a half-grain weight turned the scale either way. Again it is easy to see that the same proportion exists between wheat grain and Troy grain. A grain of Scotch wheat = .047 gramme, and the Troy grain = .064 gramme.  $.047 \times 4 = .188$ ;  $.064 \times 3 = .192$ . For all practical purposes therefore 4 wheat grains = 3 Troy grains with an error of .0024, less probably than the difference between individual grains.

the 4 σιτάρια, which are the equivalent of the κεράτιον. In the Hebrew system the *Gerah*, which also probably means a grain of some kind (weighing .070 grammes), is the base.

Going farther Eastward we come to India, and there find a similar basis for the various systems in use among the Hindus. The *retti* (*Abrus precatorius*, Jequirity of pharmacists), the grain of gunja (= hemp, *cannabis*) or Karat, is the smallest unit in two systems, but in that used for weighing precious metals, corresponding to our Troy weight, there is a still smaller grain employed, called *yava*, which weighs .014 grammes, and is one-tenth of the *retti*. Finally in the Chinese system a grain of millet of the panic kind forms the basis.<sup>1</sup>

We have now passed from the extreme west of Europe to the furthest east, and everywhere alike have we found the natural units afforded by various grains and seeds employed by various races as means of indicating weight. It is now easy to see that if once in the ordinary way of barter a certain portion of gold, arrived at by a crude process of guess-work probably at first, then possibly measured by some natural measure of capacity, such as the quill of the Aztec, or the egg-shell employed by the ancient Irish (somewhat analogous to the way in which rustics in the present day measure powder and shot by means of the bowl of a clay pipe), was regarded as the equivalent of an ox, or a slave, the next step, that is, to represent it by a certain number of grains of some kind of corn or plant in common use would easily follow. Seeds too were the primitive counters before the rise of arithmetic.<sup>2</sup>

If the objection is raised that all that I have said can be readily explained by supposing that, after all these various peoples became acquainted with the weight unit obtained scientifically by the Chaldaeans (by taking the weight in water of one-fifth of the cube of the Babylonian royal ell, which itself is supposed to be based upon astronomical observations), they adopted the method of preserving the standard accurately by comparing it with the weight of a certain number of seeds, my reply is that it is hardly likely that all those peoples should have uniformly remained unobservant of the natural means at their disposal till so late a period comparatively, especially when we recollect that those same natural objects are likewise universally employed as the smallest units of linear measure, as for instance our own barleycorn, and the kernels of grain with which the Chinese start their system; secondly that, according to most metrologists, the Chinese system of weights is independent of the Graeco-Asiatic, which prevailed everywhere else, and therefore the method of estimating weights by seeds has in this case certainly been employed before, and independently of the Babylonian scientific system; and thirdly that beyond all doubt we found the Incas of Peru evolving a

<sup>1</sup> I owe this fact to the kindness of Sir Thomas Wade.

<sup>2</sup> My colleague, Professor Hartog, informs me

that in Java, grain (*padi* or *para*) is not only unit of weight but also of numeration.

weight system for themselves in a region where there cannot be the slightest suspicion of Babylonian influence. If those Incas, who had not even developed a system of currency or a system of hieroglyphics, could devise a weight system, why should we deny to the Aryan and Semitic races the capacity to evolve such a system by some empirical process, analogous to that by which the Peruvians must have arrived at theirs ?

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE  
ZEUS TEMPLE AT OLYMPIA,  
AND  
ALCAMENES THE LEMNIAN.

[PLATE VI.]

HARDLY ever has an artist been more unjustly treated by posterity than has he who adorned the Eastern pediment at Olympia with the story of Oenomaus and Pelops. Archaeologists have censured, and artists parodied his work for faults of composition that it owed probably entirely to their own reconstructions. The standard of Greek art is so high, even in lesser things, that where a work of this importance seems to fall short, we had better doubt of our own method, or at least suspend our judgment rather than rashly condemn. The more so here, where there does not even exist a general accord as to the arrangement which ought to be preferred. It is true that those peculiarities of style which seemed most to blame were not controverted, but as long as it appears that the truth has not yet been found, the fault will most probably lie where it is least sought for. And in fact material indications are not wanting that all was not right. For example, it is a curious fact that, though the composition was too loosely spread, the detached horses should stand outside the teams of three worked from one block, and this notwithstanding that they show unmistakable marks of having stood close to the wall. I was so strongly impressed by this circumstance during a visit at Olympia in May 1888, that I resolved to try by all means a new solution on this principle. But of course I lighted on the same difficulty which had prevented others from accepting this arrangement, as the five central figures, spellbound by the words of Pausanias, did not leave sufficient space to right and left for two horses in succession, and I already half despaired of coming to any conclusion, when Prof. Brunn spoke the magic word that broke the spell.<sup>1</sup> He advocates on purely aesthetic grounds a transposition of the middle-figures, whereby the women come close to Zeus, between him and the heroes, and vindicates our right to reconstruct the

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<sup>1</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der königl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*. 7 Juli 1888. 'Ueber Giebelgruppen,' p. 183 ff.

whole on aesthetic principles and test it by the text of Pausanias, instead of building on his words a theory which does not do justice to the work.

The following is an attempt to work out this method, letting the sculptures speak for themselves, and taking the subject as given in these words only<sup>2</sup>: τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἔμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἢ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἄμιλλα ἔτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Technical details as to the way the figures have been fastened to the building will have to be considered, and the lines of each separate member will be examined to discover the place it must have taken in the composition. Where there is reason to take account of the situation in which they were found, this consideration will not be omitted.

So generally acknowledged is the affinity of style with the Western pediment, whereof the composition would appear to be now reconstructed beyond all doubt by the last rearrangement of Prof. Treu,<sup>3</sup> that it does not seem too bold to make use of what we learn there about the style and method of this art.

In the first place let us observe that the outlines of one figure must follow that of the next so that no more vacant space is left than can be helped, and that the composition must thus be kept compact. Another principle, that of correspondence, has been already so well set forth by Prof. Treu<sup>4</sup> and Prof. Kekulé,<sup>5</sup> that it need hardly be once more advocated.

I had no choice but to work with the models on a reduced scale, which have in some respects been slightly altered in the restored parts, according to my indications, under the direction of Mr. Bart van Hove, the sculptor. This has only been done where it could not be avoided. What else remains to be changed will be mentioned in the text, as these corrections can necessarily be no more than an indication of the intention, and ought to be controlled in presence of the originals, or at least the large plaster casts, by competent authority. I have no doubt that a careful inquiry will prove these or similar alterations possible and sufficient.<sup>6</sup>

In the middle stands the figure of Zeus, too high for any other place. Next to him, neither Oenomaus nor Pelops—these names cannot be questioned—will fit, as either of them in the usual arrangement cuts through the composition most awkwardly, the first with his left elbow and the other still worse by his shield, and even if transposed, they must perforce remain at too great a distance, and leave an enormous gap. To be brief, there is no other place where the shield will do no harm by its form and the broad shadow it must have thrown till noon, but on the right, *i.e.* Northern extremity of this group, and similarly the elbow of Oenomaus finds room for extension only on the opposite side. The women therefore must stand between the men and Zeus, as Prof. Brunn<sup>7</sup> has already deduced from the bad effect the naked legs

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, v. 10. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts*, iii. p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> *Archäologische Zeitung*, xl. 1882, p. 215ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. xxxix. p. 481ff.

<sup>6</sup> The restored parts have been indicated in the models by a darker colour, but this does not show everywhere in our plate, so that it is misleading.

<sup>7</sup> L. i. p. 183.



of the men produce in that place, and the evident improvement in the composition if we bring the draped female figures close to Zeus' garment. If we ask which of the two must stand to the right, which to the left, I would venture to answer that this question is decided by the figures themselves, as the right arm and hand of Zeus fit exactly into the folds formed by the dress of the woman with her arms on her breast, and that this slender figure composed with the broader Oenomaus exactly counterpoises the group that remains, where the fuller forms of the woman make up for what we should miss in Pelops. In this way too will be obtained an over-lapping of outlines, postulated by Prof. Brunn for these groups. On the other side the uplifted left arm of the other woman fills the open space beneath the right arm of Pelops who rests gently on her shoulder. It is true that in the models, as they stand before me, Pelops is a trifle too short to allow of this arrangement, and I would not venture to have him made higher, but the same effect may be obtained by letting the torso rest somewhat more heavily on the supporting leg, an attitude perfectly accounted for by the weight of the shield on that side. It is obtained in our plate by making the whole figure lean over somewhat to the left, but this of course is but an expedient. That this arrangement is the original one is further shown by a slight indentation on the woman's left shoulder at the exact spot where it would be touched by the elbow of Pelops.

It is clear that the women must assume again the names first given to them, and disputed by Dr. Studniczka,<sup>8</sup> but after the excellent characterizations of Prof. Flasch,<sup>9</sup> there cannot be any objection to this. We shall only have to disagree with Prof. Flasch as to the restoration of the left arm of Hippodamia. It cannot hang down, as Prof. Treu<sup>10</sup> observes, on account of the folds underneath the elbow, and we come to the same conclusion if we examine the holes cut for attaching the fore-arm, that point to a heavy weight having to be sustained. Still it seems to me that, as it is restored, the arm is too much uplifted and should be less extended and nearly vertical, as in the figure of Stephanus. Hippodamia must have held a *tunica* here, just as in her statue in the Hippodrome. It is not uninteresting to observe that her image on later vases often shows a general likeness to this figure, particularly in the uplifted left arm.<sup>11</sup>

That the supporting legs of the men come to the outside of the group is, as Mr. van Hove observed to me, in favour of the proposed arrangement, as they give a better outline and greater stability to the whole. I may add that in a similar way the women by repeating the position of the men direct our eyes to the centre, and help to give more consistency to the composition, which if they change places would fall asunder in two distinct groups with a

<sup>8</sup> *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1881, p. 251 ff.

<sup>9</sup> In Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, v. Olympia, ii. p. 1104 y.

<sup>10</sup>  *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.*, iii. p. 184 n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1840 Tav. 7 Agg. N:

*Monumenti dell' Inst.*, viii. 1864, Pl. iii; *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1853, Pl. liv., where Hippodamia is moreover far more richly dressed than the woman who leads her and who, no doubt, is Stereo.

central figure, but without any combining link. Even as they are, these groups remind one of those of Orestes and Electra, or Orestes and Pylades, and it is not impossible that another restoration of the uplifted arms of the heroes might produce a still closer resemblance.

There thus remains only one somewhat large gap between Zeus and Sterope, and this may be filled up in the way indicated by Prof. Brunn,<sup>12</sup> by an altar, which however in my opinion ought rather to be seen in front, as on the Attic vases, and the Sicilian coins of this period.

If this arrangement be accepted we shall find that the group still lacks the necessary breadth at the base, as compared with the more compact and broader upper half. But this defect is remedied by the figures that must sit before the horses. Now if we look for such forms as will give the desiderated outline, we have no choice but to accept those proposed by Prof. Kekulé,<sup>13</sup> the kneeling young man to the left, and the kneeling maiden to the right. They correspond exactly in their movement, and the maiden has just the height wanted for a figure beneath the shield. The sitting boy and the mutilated sitting man of Prof. Treu's arrangement would be too low, and we shall find that precisely for this reason they will be wanted elsewhere. Moreover the last mentioned figure would cause a very irregular contour. The same would be the case if we accepted Prof. Curtius' views,<sup>14</sup> who instead of the maiden has the kneeling man, and then this brings an awkward repetition of the same motive, in that both figures kneel to the right. Nor does Prof. Flasch<sup>15</sup> bring us any nearer. The bald seated man might perhaps do well before Pelops, but he is wanted more where he was found, and the proposed pendant, the mutilated sitting man, is less satisfactory near Oenomaus than anywhere else. Though we have not yet come to this point in our inquiry, it may already be observed that the argument, which convinced Prof. Flasch, loses all its force as soon as Oenomaus is removed from that side where he recognizes Myrtilus.

Prof. Kekulé's arrangement however is open to nearly the same objection as that of Prof. Curtius, the repetition in the two kneeling men, and we ought to accept it only with a modification. For us the kneeling boy must of necessity come before the horses, and should be turned inward until his back and his right side are equally seen from the front. His head will then be seen in profile from the most central point that allows of a general survey of the pediment, and his hands will come close to the horses. The kneeling maiden should occupy an exactly similar position, and that such was her position is even more evident, as there is a greater contrast in her case between the finish of the back<sup>16</sup> and that of the part that was not exposed to view, than is the case with the boy, who only shows some rough surface on the left side. What she may be doing is quite uncertain; she might perhaps be

<sup>12</sup> L. I. p. 198.

<sup>13</sup> L. I. p. 486.

<sup>14</sup> *Die Funde von Olympia*, Ausgabe in einem Bande Berlin, 1882 p. 11 ff.

<sup>15</sup> L. I. p. 1104 z.

<sup>16</sup> The corrosion of the back mentioned by Mr. Graf (*Methoden und Ausg. d. Ath. 1888*, p. 402) is in favour of this view.

tying the strings of Pelops' sandals,<sup>17</sup> and by her ministry characterize him to the spectator as a guest of the house.<sup>18</sup>

After the principal actors we come to the preparation, the *παρασκευή*, for the race. How this was depicted in early Greek art may be learned from Attic vases. It is not without interest to compare the fragments of the vase painted by Nearchus,<sup>19</sup> where Thetis brings the armour of Hephaestus to Achilles, who, aided by the white-haired Phoenix, is preparing his chariot; but the monument of most interest to us is a fine black-figured hydria (Fig. 1), that in style, and especially in the type of the heads, shows the greatest affinity to the black-figured vases, executed by early painters of red-figured vases, in particular to Epictetus as seen in his pinakes. It has been published by Gerhard,<sup>20</sup> and is sufficiently important to be repeated here.



FIG. 1.—BLACK-FIGURED HYDRIA.

Two slightly-built horses *stand* already before the chariot; the charioteer and a groom are busy harnessing them; another groom holds the reins, while a third brings up a somewhat lighter horse, of fuller forms, which *advances* slowly.

<sup>17</sup> A very similar figure has been pointed out by Prof. Kekulé, (l. l. p. 427) in Le Bas, *Monuments figurés*, Pl. 65 = Lucy Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 590, fig. 211.

<sup>18</sup> Homer, *Od.* iv. 49; xiii. 66; xix. 316 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Benndorf, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, Pl.

iv 3d. Nearer related to this than to the following is a black-figured fragment (*Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, T. viii. sep. 3. 3), where however the preparation seems for a race.

<sup>20</sup> *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. cclxix, ccl.

Though we do not find in our pediment so complete a body of attendants, yet the horses, to which our attention must be especially directed, are arranged as on the vase. On each side are three *standing* horses in front of slight proportions, while a single horse of fuller forms *moves* forward at a slow trot, this at least seems to be indicated by what is left of the legs, and this has been well preserved by Mr. Grüttner in his models, though I am not in a position to decide whether he was quite right in letting the horse on the right side move in the natural way, and might not better have followed, as in the other, the mode of archaic art, in which the legs of the same side move simultaneously backward and forward.

As the central group, as we arrange it, takes much less space than do the same figures in other reconstructions, we may place the three horses much nearer to the centre than is usually done, and thereby gain sufficient room for the single horses in their rear, provided that these do not raise their heads so high. I have had this alteration made in the models, as may be seen from our plate, though without wishing to defend the exact curve given to each neck. It even seems to me that the horse on the left ought rather to have stretched its head forward, as there appears to be an indentation on the back of the foremost horse, just where his lip might have touched it, but Mr. van Hove had the head drawn down to correspond to the movement of the hind-legs of the model. The question remains, if this movement necessarily results from what remains, but this question, like so many others, must remain undecided here. What we want to demonstrate is no more than that the horse *can* and *must* stand in this place. Prof. Treu<sup>21</sup> and those who place the four horses side by side, have but one serious argument, the absolute want of space for any other disposition, and as this is done away, we may fairly enquire what their other considerations are worth. Prof. Treu attaches some importance to the marble support under the belly of the horse that seems to show it to have stood free from the wall, but it is clear that the enormous weight of the marble could not be supported by the legs alone, even though it were firmly attached to the wall by the strongest dowels, and that it was not superfluous here is proved by the presence of a similar support in the case of the other horses, so much better supported by their combined legs. It is true that in their case it is hidden from view by the forelegs, but if painted of the same colour as the back-ground it would hardly offend the eye here and, as we shall see, disappeared probably entirely behind the chariot. On the other hand, placed as Prof. Treu has it, it cannot but produce a very unhappy effect. Prof. Kekulé's<sup>22</sup> proposal to let the single horses stand somewhat backward, though coming nearer to the truth, and accounting for a part of the else useless work lavished on the three horses, does not remedy the great objection to this arrangement, viz. the presence of horizontal holes for dowels in the back, made exactly in the same manner as those of the five middle figures and the three horses and of many figures of the western pediment. Two of these holes may be observed on each of the single horses, about three inches (8cm.) square, and six inches (15cm.) deep, and in one

<sup>21</sup> *Archäologische Zeitung*, xl. 1882. p. 227.

<sup>22</sup> *L.* 1 p. 489.

place no less than eight inches (20cm.) below the highest point. It looks practically impossible to attach this mass of marble to the wall by dowels that would have to run over the back of the other horses, as Prof. Treu<sup>23</sup> thinks must have been the case. There does not even seem room for such a dowel, which would besides have been of very unusual shape and little or no use in sustaining the weight. If the sculptors had really wanted to place these horses side by side they would have left (or made) flat the part not seen, and fastened to it the free horse. That they have not done this is the all-convincing argument in favour of our view.

Some years ago my father observed to me that the chariots could not have been wanting, but being made of bronze would have been melted down, and Prof. Flasch<sup>24</sup> made the same observation.<sup>25</sup> Prof. Treu<sup>26</sup> asserts, and it is generally believed, that no trace even of the yoke is left, but I observed at Olympia not only that part of the mane of the horses on the left side is cut sharply away at the very place where this yoke ought to rest, but also that there remains a fragment of a thick bronze pin stuck in the marble that can hardly have belonged to anything else besides the yoke itself. I was not so happy with the other side as just this spot is there broken away.

Though the chariot is usually close to the heels of the horses it seems more probable that the distance was somewhat greater here, as often is represented in a race, so that it may well fill up the empty space beneath the single horse and cover its support. This arrangement may easily be made on the left side, but on the right meets some difficulty in the uplifted foreleg of the horse. We have observed already that this ought probably to be altered.

It is indeed an objection to our theory that it will scarcely be possible to place an attendant to lead these horses, but after all it is not impossible to suppose that a well-trained horse could trot along by itself to its companions, and besides these horses are of divine ancestry.

Still however, especially after adding the chariots, one misses something, small maybe, by the side of the foremost horses. Some reins, or a harness hanging down from the yoke, as in the vase-painting, is all that is wanted.

About the last figures on the right little remains to be said. Their place is given by the spot where they were found,<sup>27</sup> by the respective height of the figures, which does not allow of any others being placed in

<sup>23</sup> L. I. 228 in the note.

<sup>24</sup> L. I. p. 1104 AA.

<sup>25</sup> May not the many bronze fragments found with the bald sitting man, mentioned *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1875, p. 176, have belonged to the chariot of that side? The spot would be exactly the right one. The notice runs thus: *Unter der Figur fanden sich zahlreiche Bronzestücke; darunter sind ansehnliche vergoldete Fragmente von einem runden Gegenstande, viel-*

*leicht einem Schilde gefunden worden.* These last of course would be from one of the votive shields of Mummius.

<sup>26</sup> *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1882, p. 234.

<sup>27</sup> This argument accepted by Prof. Treu in 1876 and rejected in 1882 formed the basis of the arrangement of Prof. Curtius, l. I. and was combined by Prof. Kekulé, l. I. with the symmetrical correspondence of the figures in Prof. Treu's arrangement.

their stead and, last not least, by the beautiful harmony of the outlines. It is true that they cannot be brought sufficiently close together in the existing models, but the restored right hand of the river-god may be very well brought near to his left arm, somewhat in the way indicated in our plate, and the left arm of the bald sitting man, whereon he leans, must be drawn nearer to the body on account of the position of the remaining fragment. The right hand that touches the chin may perhaps have held the halter of the single horse;<sup>28</sup> at all events on this side nobody else appears to care in the least about the horses.

We are better off in this respect on the other side, where we find a striking resemblance to the painting on the hydria above mentioned, in more than one respect, for not only does the kneeling boy, placed as we place him, fulfil the office of the groom half seen before the horses, but the groom who holds the reins is present too in the person of the kneeling man. If we turn him somewhat to the front, there is no longer any fear of an awkward repetition of movement, and his height is the exact height wanted there and nowhere else.

The river-god occupies the angle, and so no figure remains for the last vacant place but the mutilated man. But there are still more convincing arguments than these to demonstrate that he must have occupied this spot. Prof. Treu<sup>29</sup> observes that this figure has been shortened at the base, as he thinks, to make it fit under the horses' heads, but however the reconstruction be made it always will remain so much lower than those heads, that he must evidently be mistaken in his supposition. And yet the head too, bears testimony to the fact that the figure was too high at first, as it is flattened at the crown in an oblique direction. This points clearly enough to the single spot in the whole pediment where this reduction could be of any use, the last place but one to the left. It is less easy to say how it ought to be restored. The two different Berlin models are both evidently wrong. Certainly Mr. Grüttner was right in placing the right arm before the body, as the muscle of the breast is compressed on that side, but it could never have been where he puts it, as there is at that place a narrow but intact tract of epidermis from the breast to the arm-pit. It must therefore have been higher and further off from the body. Neither can the other arm be uplifted so high as it is in both reconstructions, as well as in that given in the plate, as may be seen from the muscle on the left breast, which is not stretched. As what remains of the drapery seems to exclude a downward position of the arm supporting the body at this side (which would well suit the composition), there is no choice but to restore this arm, at least mentally, as brought forward at the level of the head so that the latter may be seen below it from the ground. This could not be effected here, without making an entirely new model, as those of Berlin have not the same excellence and exactness as

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<sup>28</sup> This hand is pierced (see *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1876, p. 178) and could hardly have held anything but the halter of the single horse

or the reins of the other horses.

<sup>29</sup> *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1882, p. 241.

the others. For a similar reason the position of the head has not been changed, though according to the flattened crown it ought to be turned more backward and look nearly horizontally to the centre of the composition. But to do this it would have been necessary to add on the plaster cast of the original the wanting part of breast and neck, and such an undertaking leads further than we could be expected to go in the preparation of a mere essay. The changes as indicated in our plate, the right arm brought higher to support the body by means of a staff and the left hand on the missing part of the head, are sufficient to prove that it is possible to place this figure here. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that for all these six figures we have accepted in the main Prof. Kekulé's<sup>30</sup> proposal.

The duty now remains of testing this arrangement, reached on grounds absolutely independent of the description of Pausanias, by his words:<sup>31</sup> Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν αἰτὸν, ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικείμενος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὕτη τῶν Ἀτλαντος. Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἤλαυνε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἄρμα, κᾶθηται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων· οἱ δὲ εἰσιν ἄριθμόν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσιν ἄνδρες δύο· ὀνόματα μὲν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτους προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου. πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατὰκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἡλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γε Ἀλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἄριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἱπποδάμεια καὶ ὅτε ἡνίοχός ἐστι τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι, δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἱπποκόμοι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὖθις ὁ αἰτὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροιζηνίων ἐστὶν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ἐφάσκειν ὅ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κίλλαν εἶναι.

In the first place I am happy to be able to bring forth a witness whose impartiality cannot be suspected, as he came to the same result as we in respect to the arrangement of the five principal figures, before the sculptures were known, on the sole authority of Pausanias, Quatremère de Quincy,<sup>32</sup> who published a very unpretending sketch of the composition, which we repeat here (Fig. 2).

We may take as known what Prof. Brunn<sup>33</sup> advances to explain the seeming contradiction of the text, but we must lay the more stress on what can be further concluded from the passage. The supposed altar might have induced Pausanias to speak of the *ἄγαλμα* of Zeus, but it is of more importance that in describing Oenomaus ἐν δεξιᾷ, he adds τοῦ Διὸς, which he could never have done if he intended to speak of the *spectator's* right hand. The following words τὰ δὲ ἐς ἄριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, might be ambiguous, as Zeus must be mentioned again, but the earlier words are clear.

To the right and left follow the figures he mistook for charioteers, misled probably by the myth, as it was current in his time, and as Prof. Kekulé<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> L. I. p. 456.

<sup>31</sup> v. 10, 6.

<sup>32</sup> *Le Suprême Olympien*, Pl. xi. fig. 1.

<sup>33</sup> L. I. p. 184.

<sup>34</sup> L. I. p. 457.

observes, by the dress of the maiden. On the left are the men whom Oenomaus ordered to care for his horses, and in this they are occupied. It is less evident what those on the right are doing, and so it was to Pausanias, as he only guesses they might be Pelops' grooms; ἵπποκόμοι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοῦ Πέλοπος. If we are not able to put a name to every one of these figures, this at least is not in disaccord with our author.

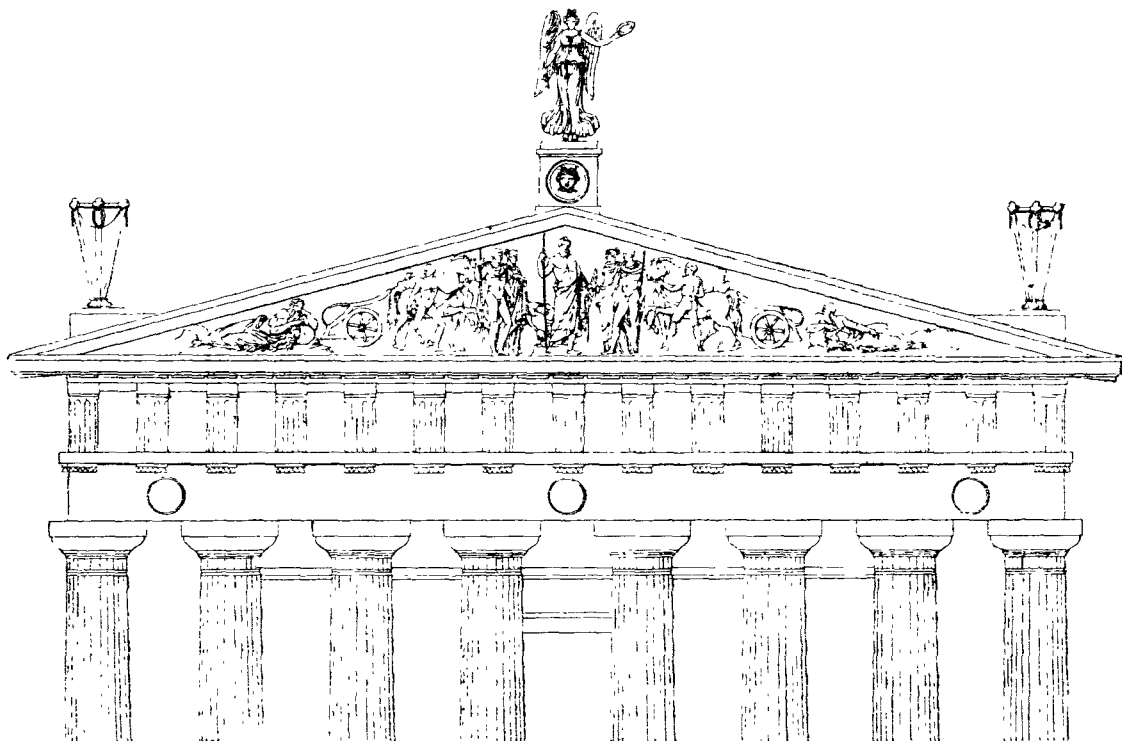


FIG. 2.—RESTORATION BY QUATREMERÉ DE QUINCY.

The bald and rather corpulent man, seems characterised as a paedagogus.<sup>35</sup> That he must be of some rank, appears from his noble features.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Bald men are not rare on Attic vases, not only where extreme age is represented as in the Tithonus of an Oenocles vase (Luynes, *Vases*, Pl. xxxviii) but in general to indicate advanced years as in Priamus (Gerhard, *Ausereisene Vasenbilder*, Pl. clxxxviii. *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, viii. Pl. xxvii.) and Anchises (Gerhard, l. l. Pl. ccxvi, ccxvii). Linus too on the vase of Pistoxenus (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 1871, Tav. d' Agg. F.) is more or less bald, and several bald men occur whom one would rather take to be paedagogi than anything else, such as on a cup at Munich (*Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1885, Pl. 11), or on

another (Heidemann *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Pl. x.), or on an amphora (Gerhard, l. l. Pl. cl) near Lyeaon, Antandros, who of all mentioned shows the closest likeness to the type at Olympia.

The small terra-cotta group of the Berlin Museum (*Archaeologische Zeitung*, xl. Pl. 8 = Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1329) is too late to be of much use for comparison however close the resemblance.

<sup>36</sup> These features do not allow his being characterized as a bad man as Prof. Fläsch (l. l. p. 1104 AA) supposes. In fact the corpulence



He should be compared to Mentor or Phoenix, rather than to the paedagogus in Sophocles' *Electra*, as a young prince like Pelops would hardly fail to be thus accompanied, even though the legends do not mention it expressly. His rank of course would no more prevent him from tending the horses, than it does Phoenix in the painting of Nearchus, above mentioned.

Finally there is no objection to calling the left river-god Cladeus, as he was beardless as well as the other, who now must be Alpheus. These attributions are not inconsistent with the geographical situation, as the race was supposed to go toward the sea, and follow the coast, so that the Alpheus must be on the left.

To conclude let us take a general view of the scene and try to find its motive.

On the right hand, *χερὸς ἐκ δορυπαλλοῦ*,<sup>37</sup> of Pelops, the princely guest and bashful lover, and his blooming bride, whose hand holds the prize of victory, appears the majestic figure of Zeus, foreboding good luck to them. His angry frown rests on Oenomaus, who broke his laws by preventing the marriage of his own daughter, and slaying her suitors, and now supports his presence with impudent mien and in unbroken pride, whilst Sterope, sunk in painful meditation, foresees the issue that will leave her a widow.

This group, in which all the interest, as in a tragedy of Aeschylus, centres with ethic pathos, is surrounded by the preparations for the fatal race. But the appearance of Zeus does not pass unobserved by all attendants. The paedagogus on the right is struck with awe, and sits motionless, his head resting on his hand; the man last but one at the left, turns sharply with terror or curiosity—which is now no longer observable—and the river-gods, which indicate the locality, astonished, half rise from their beds. As in Rafael's *Mass of Bolsena*, the excitement caused by the supernatural appearance grows as it reaches those that have no part to act in the scene, and by thus bringing them in connexion with it, gives unity to the whole.

That there can be no Myrtilus, as his treason could not be and was not acknowledged at Olympia to have decided the issue of the race, has been clearly shown by Prof. Loeschcke.<sup>38</sup> Nor was this theme, fit subject for a tragedy of Euripides, worthy to adorn the temple of the highest of the gods, even if it had not invited, as it were, to treachery and corruption. And that, notwithstanding the artist's care to avoid every ambiguity by omitting the charioteer of Oenomaus, he was still thought to be present in after times, proves nothing but the wide-spread character of the myth, and the want of moral sense in respect to the gods in those days. For a charioteer of Pelops there could have been no occupation but that of simple groom, as, according to the legend, the hero drove himself with Hippodamia by his side.

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and baldness bespeak no more than his age and lack of daily exercise, and it seems probable that Prof. Flasch was led to speak of a 'fatal face' (l. l. p. 1104 Z) by the front view, which it was not the artist's intention to show.

<sup>37</sup> Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 119. Cf. Homer,

B 353 etc.

<sup>38</sup> *Dorpat-Program: Die Oestliche Giebelgruppe am Zeus-tempel zu Olympia*, 1885, p. 13, with special reference to the chest of Cypselus and the first Olympic ode of Pindar.

Considering the mutilated condition of the work we cannot be expected to obtain a reconstruction free from doubt in details, but the arrangement here proposed is the only one as yet suggested, that accounts for all technical peculiarities; and though I certainly cannot hope to see it accepted at once by all archaeologists, I expect to have all artists on my side on account of the evident artistic gain in the general aspect, and nobody can deny that we have obtained a much closer resemblance to the style of the Western pediment than before.

We could stop here, but the last observation leads us to another inquiry, which I hope our readers will follow, without letting an unfavourable impression of this part of the paper influence their judgment on the former.

The artist of this pediment is unknown, and the name of Paeonius of Mende, given to him by Pausanias, must be due to some error or confusion in his notes or memory, as Paeonius himself, in his inscription, practically excludes all doubt. Even if we could accept the thesis, that the meaning of ἀκροτήρια is ambiguous, which we cannot allow,<sup>39</sup> Paeonius' phrase would not admit any doubt, as he uses the word ἐπί, and that at all events is not ambiguous.

Of course Prof. Flasch<sup>40</sup> is right, that for a victory there must be a competition, and that the Greeks did not use to compete with models, but with finished works. But what of that? He whose work was refused might hope to find some other destination for it, either unchanged or with new attributes, as we know from the example of Agoracritus' Nemesis.

There is not a single reason why the gilded bronze λέβητες should rather pertain to the gold shield or φιάλη of the Lacedaemonians, in whose inscription they are not mentioned, than to the gilded bronze Nike, nor why they should not be due to the hand of Paeonius.

Even those who accept most readily the testimony of Pausanias, acknowledge the identity of style of both pediments, and Prof. Flasch<sup>41</sup> goes so far as to ascribe this to the influence of Phidias; but without denying in the least the affinity between the Olympian and the Parthenon sculptures (which by the by are ascribed to Phidias himself on very controvertible grounds), we need not shut our eyes to the immense distance that lies between. Where so much is uncertain, it may not be out of place to compare what progress has been made by long-lived artists of the first rank and the greatest influence in other periods, where fixed dates help our inquiry. And even a rapid survey of what Donatello produced between his twenty-sixth year, when he made the St Marcus of Orsanmichele, and his eightieth year, whence date the works in St. Lorenzo, or of what Michelangelo produced between his twenty-fifth year with the *Pietà* in St. Peter's, and the Deposition in the Tomb,

<sup>39</sup> The argument drawn from Plato, *Critias*, 116D, is very weak; there is no reason to understand ἀκροτήρια there in any but the usual sense (see Prof. Michaelis, *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1876, p. 169) as the sculptures mentioned in the next sentence do not stand in the pediment but

in the temple itself.

Those who accept the word as pediment would make Paeonius assert *both* pediments to have gained him a victory

<sup>40</sup> L. I. p. 1104 HH.

<sup>41</sup> L. I. 1104 KK.

left unfinished after a life of nearly four score and ten years, will show nothing but a development and perfection of the same tendencies, though few artists have ever more completely than these broken with tradition and created their own style. Points of comparison could only be found if we might compare the works of a mere boy, such as Michelangelo was when he worked the angel for the *arca* at Bologna, with his ripest works; but is it probable that a work like the Olympian sculptures would have been confided to an apprentice? <sup>42</sup>

It is however the great Buonarroti himself who may show us the way, as that resemblance which has been remarked between the sculptures of Olympia and the Parthenon may be closely compared to the influence to be traced in his works of the sculptures of Quercia, which he studied in his youth while at Bologna.

Similarly the disciple of Phidias, who executed the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon, let his name have been Colotes, Agoracritus, Alcámenes, Thrasymedes or Theocosmus, will have been strongly impressed in his youth, while working on the statue of Zeus, by the art of the old master whose work he daily had before his eyes in the Olympian pediments.

This master, to come to the point, was evidently the same for both pediments, and as there is no reason to doubt that Alcámenes, the rival of Phidias, made the Western pediment, we shall have to ascribe the Eastern also to him. After all that has been said by others, we need hardly dwell on the first point. Let us only observe that the execution of both pediments is so uniform that if a fragment of the one were found near the other, it could not have been recognised from the style, but only from the subject, and that to assume one single hand for the execution that induced the same style on the works of two different masters would be the worst solution to be thought of. Those who use to speak of native workmen as executing these sculptures after the models of foreign masters, forget the improbability of the masters not bringing their usual helpers with them, especially to a place like Olympia, where hardly any marble had ever been worked till this time.

To recognise in Alcámenes the designer of these works, would be of course impossible, if we accepted the identification of the two distinctly mentioned Alcámenes as one person, but there is no longer any reason for that, since Prof. Loescheke <sup>43</sup> has shown what errors had been thus committed through following Pausanias.

Prof. Robert <sup>44</sup> was the first to conclude that there were in antiquity two different versions current in regard to Alcámenes, but fails to see the obvious

<sup>42</sup> Prof. Brunn (*Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 13 Januar 1877 "Die Sculpturen von Olympia" p. 12) in comparing the pediment with the victory of Paeonius, points to Rafael's *spozalitia*, but forgets that Rafael was no more than twenty-one and had to study in another school before a great work was confided to him at the age of twenty-six. If he had painted the *stanzas* in his youth

in the style of the *spozalitia*, and the *spozalitia* were the work of his last years and in the style of the *Inceadío del Borgo*, there would indeed have been some resemblance between his career and that of the supposed Paeonius; as it is, there is none, and Paeonius remains a *monstrum*.

<sup>43</sup> Dorpat-program 1887: *Die uestliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia*, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Archaeologische Maerchen*, p. 43.

conclusion to be drawn. Prof. Loeschke on the contrary does not perhaps stretch as far as he might the authority of our texts.

As I have come to the same conclusion independently, and as the Dorpat-program is not perhaps in all hands, I venture to state the case anew. An (L) will indicate the coincidence with Loeschke, (O no. . .) the testimony as Overbeck has it in his *Schriftquellen*.

In a temple near Phaleron, sacked by Mardonius, stood the damaged statue of Hera, from the hand of Alcamenes (L); and Pausanias (O no. 816), instead of doubting whether it could have suffered from the Medes, should rather have inquired in regard to the true date of Alcamenes, as it is clear that nobody would have thought of erecting an image in a roofless temple.<sup>45</sup>

Shortly after the Persian wars, as was clearly shown by Dr. Wolters,<sup>46</sup> by comparison of a marble head found on the Acropolis of Athens, the Western pediment of Olympia must have been made, which by Pausanias (O no. 825) is ascribed to Alcamenes, the contemporary of Phidias, and only second to him in art (L). What this means appears from Pliny (O no. 811) who as *aemuli* of Phidias mentions Alcamenes, Critias, Nesiotes and Hegias, that is to say all masters of this period, as the date of Critias and Nesiotes is fixed by the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, erected in *Ol.* 75, 4 (477 B.C.), and Hegias is known to be the master of Phidias, and to have worked with Hagelaidas and Onatas. That Phidias himself must have begun his career immediately after the Persian wars is clear, from the many war trophies ascribed to him.<sup>47</sup> Pliny's date of *Ol.* 83 (448—445), about the year 300 of Rome (454!), must therefore be the date of Phidias' highest renown, and the lowest date of the others if this statement has any worth as regards them (L).

These testimonies are corroborated by the anecdote told by Tzetzes (O no. 810) about the competition between Alcamenes and Phidias, and we learn there that this Alcamenes drew his origin from the islands, so that he may be identified with the Lemnian mentioned by Suidas (O no. 809) (L).

To the same epoch points the Asclepius at Mantinea (O no. 824), as the Hera and Hebe of Praxiteles were made according to Pausanias<sup>48</sup> in the third generation after Alcamenes, so that, if we take as general date for Praxiteles that given by Pliny, *Ol.* 104, this would be *Ol.* 81 (456—453).

We have no other dates, but the description of the Hephaestus at Athens

<sup>45</sup> Prof. Petersen (*Mittheilungen aus Rom*, 1889, p. 65 ff.), who wants to find copies of the Hera of Alcamenes in works that show the style of a later period, rejects the story about the burning of the temple by Mardonius, but fails to explain why the roof and doors were not restored if they were only burnt by accident. Prof. Petersen writes privately to me that the temple may have been sacked in after times, but I cannot find his arguments convincing enough to doubt the veracity of the tradition.

<sup>46</sup> *Mittheilungen aus Athen*, p. 266 and 276.

This head (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ix. p. 123, fig. 2) might be ascribed to Alcamenes himself with much more confidence than the small bronze head claimed for him by Prof. Loeschke (*Dorpat-program* 1887 p. 8). Not having seen the original I judge from photographs taken and kindly sent me by my friend Dr. Walther Judeich, and now from the excellent publication *Ephemeris Archaeologica*, 1888, Pl. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Brunn, *Kunstler Geschichte*, p. 161 ff.

<sup>48</sup> VIII. 9. 1.

(O no. 821, 822) suffices to vindicate this statue for our master, as the words of Cicero, *Athenis laudamus Vulcanum eum, quem fecit Alcamenes, in quo stante atque vestito leviter apparet claudicatio non deformis*,<sup>49</sup> reveal a fit subject for a contemporary of Pythagoras, who excelled in his rendering of the lame Philoctetes.<sup>50</sup> Is it mere chance that we thus find the sculptor of the great god of Lemnos to have been a Lemnian? One might adduce as an objection the fact that the bronze Athene of the Lemnians at Athens was made by Phidias, but then this may have been at a time when their compatriot could not work for them. Or was perhaps even this most beautiful of Phidias' works, the Athene, made in competition with Alcamenes (the χαλκουργός) of which Tzetzes (O no. 810) speaks? Though all details given by this prolix author do not fit, this might have been the case.

Though more uncertain, it seems probable that the Dionysus of gold and ivory at Athens (O no. 819, 820) might be his work if this statue is rightly identified by Dr. Imhoof and Prof. Percy Gardner<sup>51</sup> with some Athenian coin types, as appears to be the case.

Finally we may cite the votive offering of a certain Alcamenes on the Athenian Acropolis, mentioned by Pausanias, (O no. 826),<sup>52</sup> 'Procne having resolved the death of her son, herself and Itys,' which Prof. Brunn<sup>53</sup> was right in refusing to acknowledge as a work of the artist, because of the tragic-pathetic interest, as long as he was thought to live towards the end of the fifth century. This work might be ascribed to this earlier master on comparison with a red-figured vase, in the style of the great vase-painters,<sup>54</sup> or better still with the Panaetius cup,<sup>55</sup> which though partly painted over reveals the hand of Hieron, both treating the same subject.

To a younger Alcamenes, probably of the same family, (L) point the other testimonies.

Pliny (O no. 808) calls him the Athenian, and affirms that it was certain that he was a disciple of Phidias, a fact probably disputed by those who knew

<sup>49</sup> Were it not that the authority of the *Codex Glogoviensis* is so small that the words *in utroque vestito*, which it gives instead of *atque vestito*, can hardly be brought in the text as Sillig (*Catal. Artif.* p. 32) edits, we could find in them another indication of early date, as my friend Dr. Winter observes to me.

The word *stante*, as well as *stat* of Valerius Maximus, viii. 11. ext. 3 is not to be understood in contrast to sitting but to moving as was the case in the 'claudicantem' of Pythagoras.

With regard to the close affinity of style of the polychrome cup with the adorning of (Ae)nesidora by Athena and Hephaestus (Lenormant et de Witte, *Étude céramologique*, iii, Pl. xxxiv) to the Olympian sculptures, to which my attention was directed some time ago by Mr. Murray, I am inclined to ask if we may not best suppose the statue of Alcamenes to have stood like the god in this painting, standing practically on both legs, but the left crippled

foot touching the earth only with the toes. As we have no certain date for the work of the sculptor, that of the vase painter might possibly be derived therefrom, but I have thought it rash to date it accordingly in the following hypothetical chronological survey as both might be under the influence of an older work.

<sup>50</sup> Pliny *N. H.* xxxiv. 59. As to the attitude of this statue see the interesting remarks of Prof. Benndorf on the tombstone of Halymus (*Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Classe der Wiener Akademie*, 3 Nov. 1886).

<sup>51</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, Pl. CC. Athens v. i. — v.

<sup>52</sup> I. 24. 3.

<sup>53</sup> *Kunstler Geschichte*, i. p. 237.

<sup>54</sup> *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1863, Tav. d' Agg. C. — Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1330, fig. 1484.

<sup>55</sup> Munich no. 799a; Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, no. 7, p. 145.

about his older namesake, without sufficient knowledge of facts to distinguish the two, and that many of his works were at Athens in the temples (L). This is corroborated by the anecdote of the competition with Agoracritus, told by the same Pliny (O no. 808 Ann.), and those who know what a saying like that about the help of Phidias to Alcamenes in his Aphrodite, *ἐν Κήποις*, and to Agoracritus in his Nemesis is worth in the mouth of a local antiquary or *dilettante* amateur, will not be prevented by it from identifying the Aphrodite of this competition and the renowned Aphrodite *ἐν Κήποις*<sup>50</sup> (L) (O no. 812—815). Another work in an Athenian temple may have been the Ares, mentioned by Pausanias (O no. 818), and that the Hecate (O no. 817) stood on the *πύργος*, near the temple of the wingless victory, makes it probable that this statue was rather due to him than to his predecessor. About the *Pentathlos* there need be no hesitation, as Pliny expressly mentions that it was by the disciple of Phidias (L).

Finally we have the only work which can be closely dated, as everybody knows, the Athene and Heracles at Thebes, a votive offering of Thrasybulus and his companions after *Ol.* 94, 2 (403) (L) (O no. 823).

It is hard to say to which of the two sculptors the characteristics mentioned by Quintilian (O no. 827) and the general statements made now and then as to Alcamenes by others (O no. 828) are better suited. It may be that these authors or their authority did not distinguish between the two masters.

Here follows an attempt at chronology wherein the dates for Alcamenes I. are taken as low and those for Alcamenes II. as high as possible.

<i>Ol.</i>		<i>Ol.</i>	
68 (508—505).	Birth of Alcamenes I.	69 (504—501.)	Birth of Phidias.
74 (484—481).	Hera at Phaleron, by A. I. Marble head on the Acropolis by Alcamenes I.	75.1 (480).	Sack of the Acropolis of Athens.
75		2 (479).	Mardonius burns the temple at Phaleron.
75	480—457). Pedimental sculptures at Olym- pia, by Alcamenes I.	4 (477).	Statues of Harmodius and Aristot- giton by Critias and Nesiotes erected.
79	464—461). Birth of Alcamenes II.	75	{ 480—457). Trophies of the Medic wars by Phidias.
80		80	
81	456—453). Aesclepius at Mantinea by Alcamenes I.	80.4 (457).	Battle of Tanagra.
82	{ 452—445). Works at Athens and death of Alcamenes I.	81	{ 456—447). Olympian Zeus, by Phidias.
83		83.2	
84	{ 444—438). Alcamenes II. at the atelier of Phidias.	83.3	{ 446—438). Athene Parthenos, and death of Phidias.
85.3		85.3	
86	{ 436—405). Alcamenes II. works at Athens.		
93			
95 (400—397).	Votive offering of Thrasybulus and his friends by Alca- menes II.	94.2 (403).	Thrasybulus recaptures Athens.

<sup>50</sup> To ascribe this to the younger Alcamenes merely on account of a probable identity with the original of the '*Genetrix*' replicas, as Prof. Loescheke does, l. l. p. 7, leads to a vicious circle,

as this identification rests on no other argument than that the style would be suited to this period. The same may be said about the *Epiphanias*.

It is not without some misgivings, lest some of the best material may have escaped my notice, that I approach the last point of our inquiry, a comparison with the contemporary art of the vase-paintings. We will compare figure with figure, so far as I have found, in a rapid survey, comparisons striking enough to be of any use, as it would be useless, for example, to cite all figures kneeling down like the maiden and both the men, without any nearer affinity in the action. We may rest contented with the Achilles dressing the wound of Patrocles on the cup of Sosias.<sup>57</sup> As to the probability of the back being seen, as we supposed, it may be useful to mention even figures not kneeling, *e.g.* the three athletes on a cup with the name of Panaetius,<sup>58</sup> or the discobolus on another Panaetius cup.<sup>59</sup> The only kneeling figure seen exactly in the same way from behind is a woman bathing, but treated in a somewhat later style.<sup>60</sup>

If the vases do not afford any striking likeness to the way in which the folds in the maiden's drapery, and in that of the women in the Western pediment are laid, this may be due to the difference of material, or rather technic. No closer parallel can be found than some of the best specimens of the coins of Thasos, with the Satyr and Nymph, already brought into relation with this art by Prof. Brunn.<sup>61</sup> As it is indispensable for this purpose to judge from an original of perfect preservation and excellent execution only,



FIG. 3.—COIN OF THASOS.

we give a drawing here by Carl Leonh. Becker of the specimen in the Duke de Luynes's collection (Fig. 3).<sup>62</sup> The date of this coin cannot be later than the subjection of Thasos by the Athenians in 465, when it was deprived of its mines.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, i. Pl. 10.

<sup>58</sup> Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, p. 144 no. 5 *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1878 Pl. 11. To judge by those parts that have not been repainted it is from the hand of Hieron.

<sup>59</sup> Klein *Meistersignaturen*, p. 145 no. 2 *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1884 Pl. 16. 2. This too I take to be by Hieron rather than Euphronius.

<sup>60</sup> Lenormant et de Witte, *Étude céramographique*, iv. Pl. xi.

<sup>61</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der k. bayer. Akademie*, 6 Mai 1876. 'Paionios und die nordgriechische Kunst,' p. 324.

<sup>62</sup> The same type is published often enough (Head, *Guide*, Pl. xii. 6; Gardner, *Types*, Pl. iii. 28) but the piece given there is too much worn to allow us to discern these details.

<sup>63</sup> Thucydides, i. 101. It is true that these mines seem to have been restored to the Thasians in 446, when the contribution to the treasury at Athens was raised from 3 to 30 talents (Kochler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des d. lisch-attischen Bundes*, p. 128, so that these coins might date from this epoch, but considering on the one hand that the Athenian allies did not strike large silver coins and on the other that the form of the incuse of the reverse indicates a

With Zeus and Hippodamia the matter stands much the same, and her bridal gesture is common enough through all ancient art, but no exact analogy has come under my notice. The seeming reminiscences mentioned above are of late date. On the other hand we find the same mode of wearing the hair in short curls, that is common to both women, and a few other works of this style or period, as the 'Hestia' Giustiniani, etc. in the Athene of the polychrome cup in the British Museum already mentioned,<sup>64</sup> and perhaps, though there the hair does not curl, on a *lutrophoros*,<sup>65</sup> which offers a parallel to our Sterope in the woman resting her head on her hand in grief. A still closer analogue is found in the Briseis of a somewhat earlier vase.<sup>66</sup> As the number of figures that could be compared to Pelops is of course rather large, we only give the one that, though an Amazon, offers the most striking analogy.<sup>67</sup>

More characteristic is the attitude of Oenomaus, whose right hand rests on his hip. This position is found, *e.g.* with the same attitude, except as to the right hand, in an athlete on the outside of the cup with representations of Musaeus and Linus,<sup>68</sup> and in an Achilles clad in full armour.<sup>69</sup> Another warrior, clad in armour too, holds in his left the lance, just like Oenomaus,<sup>70</sup> but though there is a difference in the pose of the uncovered head, there is a closer parallel still in a nameless god or hero assisting at the birth of Erichthonius,<sup>71</sup> his overdress being disposed in the same way as it is at Olympia.

As regards the horses we have named already the three black-colored vases that may be compared with our arrangement. Their style most reminds us of the horses drawn by Euphronius and his contemporaries, but it appears that they had fewer occasions for representing this subject. We can nevertheless cite horses led by the halter and with stretched neck,<sup>72</sup> as we suspect was the case at the left side at Olympia.

In the lying and reclining figures let us observe in the first place the mantle that covers their legs, and is found similarly placed on vases of Euthymides,<sup>73</sup> or in his style.<sup>74</sup> The same examples may be compared for the fashion of sitting beside others which could easily be added,<sup>75</sup> but it is of more importance to find analogues to the quaintly distorted figure of the mutilated man. Let us mention the Ares on a cup by Euxitheus and Oltus,<sup>76</sup> and better still, the man who is shown the swallow on a Leagrus vase,<sup>77</sup> though both are seated on chairs they are nevertheless distorted.

higher date, we had better suppose the Thasian mint to have produced only small currency till the issue with novel types that is generally dated from 411.

<sup>64</sup> See note 49.

<sup>65</sup> *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, viii. Pl. v.

<sup>66</sup> Gerhard, *Ausclesseer Vasenbilder*, Pl. cc.

<sup>67</sup> Gerhard, l. l. Pl. cexxi, cexxii.

<sup>68</sup> *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, 1856 Pl. xv.

<sup>69</sup> Gerhard, l. l. Pl. clxxxiv. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Pl. vi.

<sup>70</sup> *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, 1873 Pl. liv.

<sup>71</sup> Lenormant et de Witte, *Étude céramogra-*

*phique*, i. Pl. lxxxiv.

<sup>72</sup> *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1880, Pl. 15, 1885, Pl. 11. *Jahrbuch*, 1889, p. 29.

<sup>73</sup> Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, a, no. 4 p. 195, *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1873 Pl. 9.

<sup>74</sup> Cup with  $\omega$   $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omega\nu$   $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ , *Mithralingen aus Athen*, 1884 Pl. 1.

<sup>75</sup> *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1885 Pl. 17.

<sup>76</sup> *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, 1875 Pl. xxvii, xxiv.

<sup>77</sup> Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, p. 133 l. v. 18, *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, 1875 Pl. xvi.



To sum up; we find that all the vases mentioned belonged to a short period, that of the last group of great vase-painters, Euphronius (in his later works), Hieron, Euthymides, that is to say to the very time of the Persian invasion. They exhibit work of the same period as Olympia rather than of the same style, though even this latter might perhaps be asserted with respect to the polychrome cups, such as that already mentioned, bearing as subject the adorning of (Ae)ncsidora, or such as those of Euphronius,<sup>78</sup> notwithstanding that these have more resemblance to the Western pediment. And a glance at the material brought forward for comparison with this latter work by Prof. Curtius,<sup>79</sup> will show this to be of somewhat later date, so that if we put the question which of the two pediments were earlier, we should be inclined to name the Eastern.

From considerations which I cannot personally control, but which I take to be trustworthy, Prof. Curtius and Mr. Gruttner came to the same conclusion.<sup>80</sup>

If we bear this in mind, it perhaps does not appear too hazardous to understand the words of Pindar in the first Olympic ode, which celebrates a victory won by Hieron in 472, as an allusion to the sculptures in the Eastern pediment, when after a precise mention of the tomb and altar of Pelops, he continues, v. 94:

τὸ δὲ κλέος  
τῆ λóθεν δέδορκε τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις  
Πέλοπος, ἵνα ταχυτὰς πῶδῶν ἐρίζεται  
ἄκμαί τ' ἰσχύος θρασύπνοιοι.

J. SIX.

AMSTERDAM, April 1889.

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<sup>78</sup> Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, p. 142 no. 9, Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, Pl. 14, and the newly published fragments from the Athenian acropolis, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*,

ix. Pl. vi.

<sup>79</sup> *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1833 p. 350. Pl. 17.

<sup>80</sup> L. I. p. 357.

A VASE OF POLYGNOTAN STYLE: *M. d. I.*, XI., 38.

THE krater which is the subject of this paper is preserved in the Louvre. It has been well engraved in the *Monumenti*<sup>1</sup> of the Institute, and discussed by Helbig in the *Bulletino* (1881, p. 276), by Robert in the *Annali* (1882, p. 273), and by Winter in his *Jüngere Attische Vasen* (p. 45). My object in resuming the study of it is twofold. Firstly, the vase is so remarkable for beauty and distinction of style as to have scarcely an equal, and it will be a good thing to bring it in any way to the notice of English artists and archaeologists. And secondly, in spite of Professor Robert's able paper, it appears to me that it is susceptible of a more complete explanation than it has yet received.

It was discovered at Orvieto<sup>2</sup> in 1880, in a large tomb consisting of two chambers. In the same tomb were found several other vases, ranging in date from the early part of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century. Our vase was in that of the two chambers in which were for the most part later vases; but Professor Helbig states that the contents of the two chambers were broken, and so much intermingled that it was difficult to say that the vases lay in distinct groups. It seems therefore that the circumstances of the finding do not compel us to assign a particular date to our vase. Professor Robert would give it to the first quarter of the fourth century. But since the recent excavations at Athens have taught us that even Hiero and Brygus worked in the first half of the fifth century, it would not now be possible to fix for it so late a date as B.C. 400. Indeed, since both Furtwängler<sup>3</sup> and Murray<sup>4</sup> assign vases of far less severe style to the latter part of the fifth century, our vase should probably be assigned to the middle of that century. The drawing is throughout full of severity, and in the attitudes there is something of archaic stiffness. The warrior leaning on a spear on the left of the principal scene is at least as stiff in type as the so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo,<sup>5</sup> and shows nothing even of Polycleitan rhythm. In the case of some of the warriors we have long locks of hair falling on the shoulders, a thing not found in Greek representations of mortals after the middle of the fifth century. The heads of Apollo and Artemis in the smaller scene have all the character of the pre-Pheidian

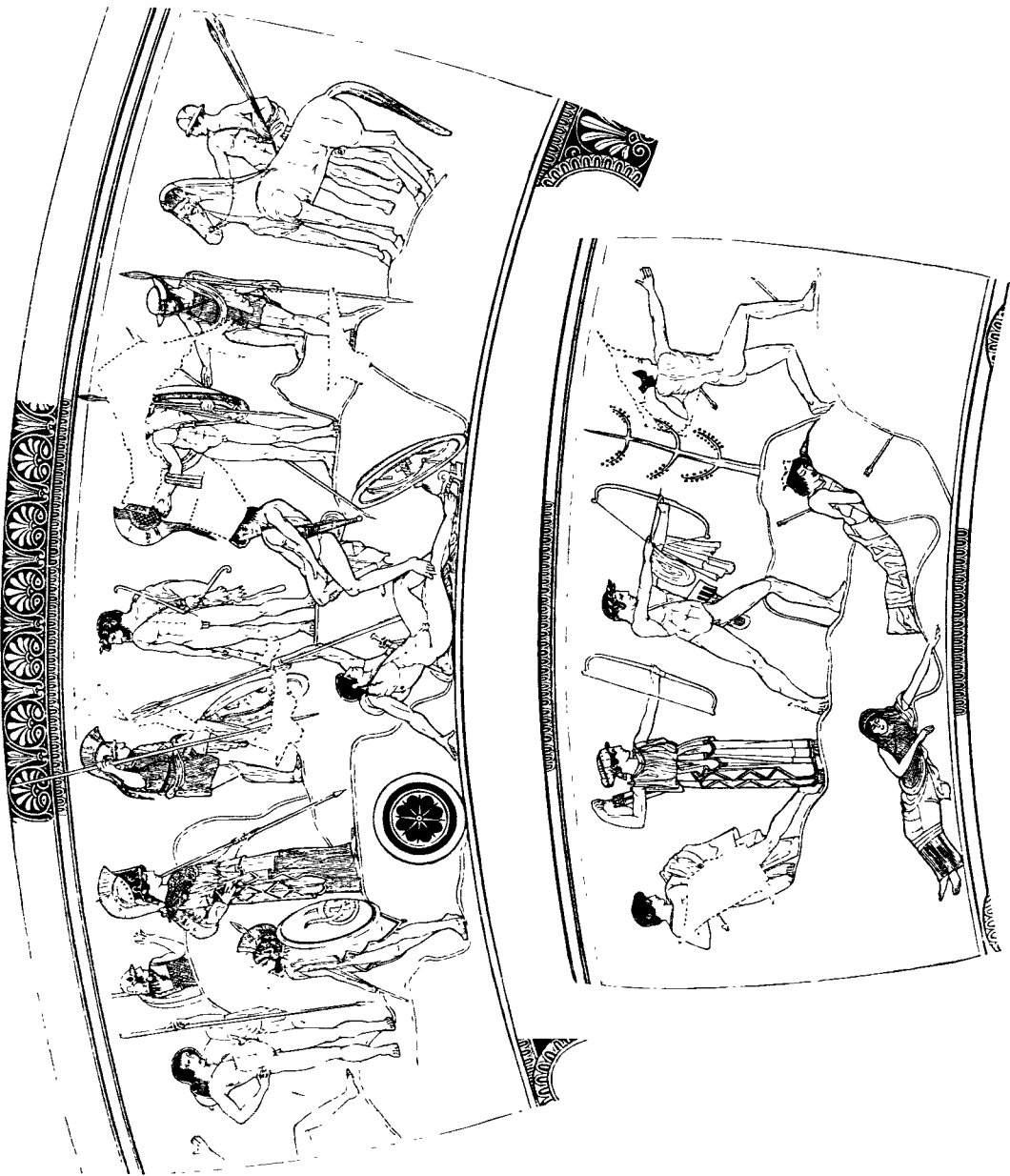
<sup>1</sup> xi. 38-40. Our woodcut is based on a pl. lv.  
reduction of this lithograph.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig in *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> *Sabourin's Collection*. Text accompanying

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, viii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i. pl. iv.



art. It is true that if we assign our vase to so early a time we must put it in a class by itself: other vases with any attempt at perspective are of later date. But in any case our vase stands quite by itself, and if it be really early will only become more interesting, because we shall have to trace in it the influence not of contemporary vase-painters but of the more advanced fresco-painters, and particularly of Polygnotus of Thasos, whose work at Athens is supposed to have begun in B.C. 471. As to the *place* of origin of our vase, there can scarcely be a doubt; it is of fine Attic work.

It has not escaped either Robert or Winter that the composition of our vase is in the style of the great painter Polygnotus. But it seems to me possible to go further than this. A careful comparison of the vase with the descriptions given by Pausanias of the paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi seems to entitle us on the one hand to use the vase with some confidence in order to improve our knowledge of Polygnotus, and on the other hand to explain on Polygnotan analogies many of the details of the design which have hitherto been regarded as inexplicable. If in either of these attempts we have any measure of success there must be gain. For all the attempts as yet made to restore the designs of the Lesche can only be described by the word deplorable.<sup>1</sup>

We ought properly to consider the works of Polygnotus under three aspects: first as regards composition, secondly as regards drawing, and thirdly as regards colouring. But any discussion of the last-mentioned point must necessarily be almost useless. For frescoes of that age have not come down to us, and the paintings of sepulchral stelæ<sup>2</sup> and of polychrome vases<sup>3</sup> have suffered so terribly from time and decay that they serve in this special point of colour rather to mislead than to instruct us. But in the other matters of composition and drawing extant Greek vases can afford us some notion of the style of Polygnotus, and none in a higher degree than the vase under discussion.

If one reads in Pausanias<sup>4</sup> his careful description of the paintings of the Lesche, one is at first confused by the way in which he returns to figures described some time before. In the scene of the Capture of Ilium Helen, says Pausanias, is represented as seated. He then mentions several wounded Trojans, and states that in the picture they were above Helen. To her he then returns, and says that next her was Aethra standing with Demophon the son of Theseus. Next Pausanias mentions Andromache, Nestor and others and then (ch. 26, *ad init.*) starts once more from Aethra and gives us a list of Trojan women who stood above her. After a time he comes back to Nestor and describes Neoptolemus as beside him. Such is his method throughout.

<sup>1</sup> They will be found collected in the plates of the new issue of the Vienna *Forleg-blätter*.

<sup>2</sup> See the dissertations of Loescheke and Milchhofer in the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, vols. iv. and v.

<sup>3</sup> Especially the fine Attic lekythi with white ground.

<sup>4</sup> x. 25—31. Whether Pausanias' description be first-hand or second-hand is not of importance in this connexion. In fact, the nearer one brings the origin of his descriptions to the time of Polygnotus, the more one will be inclined to trust them.

And hence it is abundantly clear that in Polygnotus' painting the figures were ranged in rows, apparently three in number. True perspective was of course unknown to the Greeks of that time; the figures in the upper tiers would be neither smaller in size nor less clear than those in the lower. If however these rows or tiers were arranged, as some have fancied, in even lines, a most unpleasing composition would result; while by interlacing them up and down and carefully adapting figures to spaces a most pleasing result could be attained. The vase now before us is an admirable specimen of arrangement according to the Polygnotan system of perspective, and will show us better than any verbal discussion, how it was possible to make groups above and below one another without any harshness of arrangement. The lines of the scene<sup>1</sup> move irregularly across the field, and the actors stand at various levels according to the exigences of the composition and the space. If we assume a similar system of arrangement in the great frescoes at Delphi, we shall at once find order and method in the irregular flow of Pausanias' descriptions.

Let us next turn to the subjects depicted on the vase before us. The smaller of the two scenes can be at a glance identified. In a mountainous scene appear Apollo and Artemis, he carrying a chlamys on his left arm, she clad in a Doric chiton, shooting down the unfortunate children of Niobe. The woods which cover the mountain are introduced in abbreviated form by the sketch of a pine tree, a representation quite in the manner of Polygnotus, with whom in his pictures at Delphi a tree stands for the grove of Persephone, and pebbles indicate the sea.<sup>2</sup> One young man flies to left and one to right, both pierced by the shafts of the offended deities, one youth and a maiden lie slain in the foreground. Benndorf brings the body of this youth, partly hidden by the rocks, into relation with the phrase in which Pausanias describes Polygnotus' figure of Tityus ἀμυδρὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ὀλόκληρον εἶδωλον;<sup>3</sup> and supposes that this phrase may be applied to a figure thus only partly visible; but it seems very doubtful whether it can bear such a meaning; it seems rather to imply the dimness than the incompleteness of the figure mentioned.

The scene of the obverse of the vase has also been identified with general acceptance. The only two personages who can be at first sight made out are Athena and Herakles, and these two are not standing together but separated by a warrior who occupies an even more dignified position than that of Herakles, and is evidently the leader of the whole party. His relations towards Herakles are friendly, not hostile. Every one will agree with Robert that he cannot be Cynus or any other foe of Herakles, but must be no other than Jason, whose leadership in the Argonautic expedition was accepted even by Herakles. If this be the case we have clearly a representation of one of the adventures of the Argonautic heroes. And following this clue, Robert has without difficulty identified one or two other figures. The elderly bearded

<sup>1</sup> These lines are probably blue on the vase, as in the fragment published in this *Journal*, ix. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. x. 30, 6; 25, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 29, 3. See Benndorf in *Eph. Arch.* 1887, 128.

man standing in front of the horse, and clad in petasus, chiton and chlamys is clearly Tiphys the pilot; he appears to be using the privilege of age in addressing the assembled heroes. To the right of the whole group is a youth wearing a pileus and leading a horse, while to the extreme left is a parallel figure also wearing a pileus (which has slipped down on his neck) and leaning on a spear. These two heroes are clearly the great twin brethren, the horse-taming Castor, and Polydeuces the boxer.

The other figures Robert does not attempt to identify. And considering the slight degree to which they are severally characterized, such identification must be a risky procedure. In attempting to go a little further I do so with the confidence that even if the theories which we can form are not final, they will at least arouse interest in a charming picture, and compel some students of Greek vases to examine it in detail.

Why however, it may be thought, should the designs of this vase be brought into connexion rather with the paintings of Polygnotus than with those of Micon? In two points comparison with the works of this later painter is suggested. First by the subject; Micon is known<sup>1</sup> to have depicted in the temple of the Dioscuri at Athens an adventure of the Argonautae. And secondly by the way in which a hero on the left of the vase-picture is disappearing behind a hill, whereby our thoughts are naturally carried to that Butes depicted by Micon<sup>2</sup> who was hidden by a hill, all but his helmet and one eye. But it is certain that our vase is in no way directly copied from the painting of Micon, which appears to have represented the return of the Argonautae, and in which Acastus and his horses were prominent. And although it is likely that the style of Micon was in most points similar to that of Polygnotus, we are so slightly acquainted with his works that it is safer to refer the style of our vase to the greater and more celebrated artist.

Let us however first endeavour to determine the locality of the scene depicted, and the particular event which is going forward. Robert considers the subject to be the assembling of the heroes previous to their departure from Iolcus. But it seems possible to reach a more satisfactory identification.

In the first place the scene is obviously laid in a mountainous region. The artist has indicated height rising behind height; and the lines of the ground are broken and irregular, to indicate a wild and rocky country. That the ship Argo is not, as in most pictures of the Argonauts, visible, seems to show that the sea and the shore are distant. But amid what mountains are the Argonauts wandering: those of Greece or those of Asia? The answer seems to result from a consideration of the reverse-picture.

At first sight there seems to be no connexion whatever between the two sides of the vase. What can the destruction of Niobe and her unhappy children have to do with the triumphant expedition of the united heroes of early Greece? There is no connexion of cause, and there cannot well be a correspondence of time, though both events lie back in the dim heroic ages of

<sup>1</sup> Paus. I. 18, 1.

Hesych. Cf. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, ii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Whence the proverb, *θῦτρον ἢ Βούτης*.

Greece. Nor is there even such a fanciful or poetical connexion of idea, as Brunn, for instance, finds in some of the kylixes of the early red-figured style. And yet the two scenes are not only contiguous but almost connected, one of the Niobidae almost touching the figure supposed to stand for Polydeuces. So skilful an artist as he who painted our vase would scarcely have been guilty of almost combining two scenes which were wholly unconnected. One connexion, and one alone is possible, that of locality. The slaying of the Niobidae must be introduced only in order to identify the place where the Argonauts are assembled. This view is confirmed by the exact correspondence of the landscape lines on the two representations: in fact these lines are continuous from one scene to the other, so that it seems impossible that the artist can have intended to represent different localities.

I have given in the ninth volume of this *Journal* some account of the manner in which the Greeks in their art ordinarily indicate locality. The two usual methods are that sort of artistic shorthand wherein a part stands for the whole, as an altar for a temple or a tree for a grove, and the various kinds of personification. Sometimes a typical scene in which persons have a part identifies a place, as is the case in a vase<sup>1</sup> representing a visit of Orestes to Delphi, where the oracular shrine is indicated not as usual by the omphalos, but by a priestess seated on the sacred tripod. If I am right, the artist of our vase has taken a more elaborate and more unusual method of indicating place, but it is a method by no means out of harmony with the spirit and the customs of Greek art.

The locality of the destruction of the Niobidae is variously assigned by ancient writers. Some following the tradition received by Apollodorus regarded the scene of it as Thebes. But the well-known Homeric passage (*Il.* xxiv. 602) clearly indicates the true scene to which the story was attached to be the rocky district of Mount Sipylus near Smyrna. In the myth Niobe is called the sister of the Phrygian Pelops. But those who have followed Mr. Ramsay's researches in Phrygia will scarcely doubt that Niobe is only a Greek and poetic rendering of the great nature-deity of Phrygia, Kybele, whose worship was spread over the Mysian Olympus with its various off-shoots, the Mater Dindymene, who was the goddess of the mountain regions and waste-places of north-west Asia Minor.

It would seem then that by the choice of the Niobidae for the decoration of the reverse of our vase, the artist wished to indicate that the adventure of the Argonautae took place in the neighbourhood of Dindymus or Sipylus. If we turn to the narrative of the Argonautic expedition as recorded by Apollonius Rhodius, who of course follows in the main old traditions, we shall find one occasion, and one only, on which the Argonautae ascended the mountains of the Mysian Olympus range.

Of all the districts of Asia Minor none was so closely connected with Argonautic legend as that of Cyzicus. Apollonius tells us<sup>2</sup> how Jason and his comrades landed close to the peninsula where in after days stood the city

<sup>1</sup> Roquette, *Mon. Inet.* pl. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Argonautica*, i. 940—1020.

of Cyzicus, and were hospitably entertained by the Doliones and their king Cyzicus, and how they ascended the mountain to look at the course their ship must take. They re-embarked and sailed on, but were driven back to the same spot by a storm, and landing at night were attacked by the inhabitants who supposed them to be pirates. King Cyzicus fell in the battle by the hand of Jason. Daylight showed the true state of affairs; and the Argonauts made such reparation as lay in their power by giving a stately burial to Cyzicus. Being detained on shore by storms they next ascended Dindymus in order to offer sacrifices in a temple of Mater Dindymene, and so no doubt to remove the blood-guilt unwittingly incurred.

It is probable that one or other of these ascents of the lofty mountains in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus is depicted on our vase. The double ascent, as it stands in the text of Apollonius, is curious, and we may perhaps suppose that it points to some confusion in the myth. But it is at least fairly certain that the local traditions of Cyzicus recorded a wandering of the Argonauts among their mountains.<sup>1</sup> And these local traditions would become familiar to Athenian artists in consequence of the brisk trade kept up by the Athenians with the shores of the Euxine.

Let us next try if it be not possible to proceed further than Helbig and Robert in the direction of identifying the several figures of the group. We have already observed that the two Dioscuri stand, balancing one another, at the two sides of the picture. Such an arrangement is not unusual on Greek vases of many kinds. Poseidon and his son Eumolpus are similarly introduced in the well-known vase at Hiero<sup>2</sup> on which is depicted the sending forth of Triptolemus, and it is a scheme decidedly affected by Polygnotus, in his pictures of the *Taking of Troy* and in the *Vision of Hades*. 'Characteristic of individuals,' writes Brunn in his description of these works 'is often the position they occupy either as associated or as contrasted.' Nestor, the oldest of the Greeks, is making preparations for the homeward journey, while Neoptolemus the youngest is still slaying. Thus too the enemies of Odysseus are all gathered together in one place. The vase then following in this matter the Polygnotan methods, let us try if it does so in other respects. If we may trust Pausanias, one of the most marked features of the style of Polygnotus is the way in which he tells the fates of the persons he depicts by some gentle touch, full of an allusion which could not be to the observer visible at a glance, but which it required study to detect. Thus in his *Vision of Hades* at Delphi Phaedra is introduced<sup>3</sup> as sitting in a swing, in allusion to the death of hanging which she inflicted on herself. Eriphyle places her fingers on her neck,<sup>4</sup> and the observer is intended to see in the attitude a reference to the famous necklace which was her ruin. We can add a still more striking allusion of the same kind. According to the story Theseus and

<sup>1</sup> The influence of Argonautic traditions is to be found in the types of several electrum staters of Cyzicus; cf. the paper of W. Greenwell in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1887, pp. 12, 96, 99, 112, 124. For the worship of Dindymene

at Cyzicus see the same paper, pp. 9, 77, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Klein, *Vasen mit Meistersig.* p. 171 *M. d. I.* ix. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. x. 29. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 7.



Peirithous were bound to a rock in Hades, and sometimes on late vases which give us scenes in Hades<sup>1</sup> Peirithous is represented as thus bound, but more often he and Theseus appear merely as seated, 'sedet aeternumque sedebit Infelix Theseus.' In the painting of Polygnotus the two heroes appear as sitting together,<sup>2</sup> without doubt as an anticipation of the fate in store for them. Is it then too bold to see in the two figures seated together at the bottom of our picture, with their two shields lying beside them, Theseus and Peirithous, seated of course not as being in Hades, but in allusion to their destiny to sit there for all time—or at least until the visit to Hades of their friend Herakles? That the foot of Peirithous should rest on the knee of Theseus is but a fashion, usual in Polygnotus' works, of indicating them to be near friends. Thus in the *Vision of Hades* we read of Callisto *τοὺς πόδας ἐν τοῖς Νομίας γόνασιν ἔχει κειμένους*,<sup>3</sup> and of Chloris that she is *ἀνακεκλιμένη ἐπὶ τῆς Θυίας γόνασιν*. It is perhaps worthy of note that whereas most of the Argonautic heroes on our vase have short hair, two wear the long locks which bespeak the old Ionian *σεμνότης*: these two are those whom I have called Jason and Theseus; and if we had to select from the list of the Argonauts two worthy of being thus distinguished, these are the two names we should be disposed to choose. This is so far as it goes, a confirmation of our views.

On the left of the scene, close to Polydeuces, are two warriors fully armed. One is wandering away over the mountain, and only the upper part of him is visible. He is young, with long locks flowing over his shoulders; the gesture of his right hand seems to express surprise. The other is lower down, a bearded warrior, who at first sight seems to be talking to Polydeuces; but a more correct view of his attitude would be that he is looking up at his disappearing comrade, and following him. Can these be identified? Not, it must be confessed, with certainty; but I am much disposed to see in them Hylas who wandered away from his comrades on this coast, and was dragged into the water by the spring-nymphs, and Polyphemus the comrade who witnessed his disappearance and reported it to his intimate friend Herakles.<sup>4</sup> Two obvious objections may be made to the attribution, but neither of them is fatal. First, it will be said that the scene of Hylas' disappearance was not Mount Dindymus but the coast near Cius, in the Euxine: this is true, but vase-painters are not wont carefully to distinguish times and occasions, least of all would a painter in the style of Polygnotus be bound by them; he would rather try to give a characteristic rendering of his heroes without much thought for the unities. Secondly, it may seem that Hylas should be represented as an effeminate boy, not as an armed warrior. And no doubt in Pompeian paintings<sup>5</sup> he is depicted in such guise; but such renderings are scarcely in the style of the severe art which dominates our vase. Hylas was an Argonautic hero, and in origin probably not more effeminate than

<sup>1</sup> These vases are collected in the Vienna *Vorlegeblätter*, series E.; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, pl.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. x. 29, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 31, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Argonautica*, i. 1207, *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, Nos. 1260, 1261. In one of these pictures, however, Hylas carries two spears.

Patroclus, the favourite of Achilles, and as a warrior second only to his friend.

One figure only remains, that of the hero standing behind Herakles, and holding out in one hand a helmet, in the other, spear and shield. It is little better than guess-work to try to assign a name to him: perhaps Telamon, as the special friend of Herakles, has the best claim to be placed near him.

It may by some be thought that this somewhat fanciful identification of figures by help of the allusions contained in attitude or attribute is a step in the direction of danger, as tending to lead us back to the methods of vase-interpretation formerly in use but now out of date. And we may at once agree that it would be not only dangerous but disastrous to archaeology if the great majority of vase-paintings were treated in this fashion. As a general rule vase-paintings must be dealt with not individually but in groups. As Gerhard used to say 'he who has seen one has seen none; he who has seen a thousand has seen one.' But there are vase-paintings and vase-paintings. The great majority are poor, and dominated by convention and by artistic traditions. But here and there is one which is original in conception and careful in execution; and which must be judged by the canons not of decorative but of original and poetic art. And until the description of the Polygnotan paintings in Pausanias is proved to be delusive, nay, until the Parthenon frieze is blotted out of existence, it will remain a certainty that great works of art of the Periclean age were composed with careful regard to the whole history and nature of each personage portrayed, and with a meaning only to be made out by careful and painstaking consideration. Such a work, according to my contention, we have in the vase which is the subject of this paper.

PERCY GARDNER.

## EARLY GREEK VASES AND AFRICAN COLONIES.

UNDER the above title are included a few remarks upon certain classes of early Greek vases which have been, rightly or wrongly, associated with Naucratis or other Greek colonies in the north-west of Africa. If some parts of the discussions which follow are somewhat controversial in tone, I can only plead the nature of the subject in excuse.

A familiarity with the vase-fragments from Naucratis such as could only be gained by handling them and examining them repeatedly has induced me to distinguish with some confidence classes of vases that were made at Naucratis from those that were not: and I therefore wish to correct or confirm certain views that have been expressed upon this question before they pass into hand-books as accepted facts.

I. *The Polledrara Vase.* Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. IV.

It is a strange misunderstanding that has led to the attribution of this vase to Naucratis; but the attribution has gained so much acceptance, and has been repeated by so excellent authorities,<sup>1</sup> that it seems likely to become generally regarded as an established fact unless a timely protest be entered against it. Such a protest I now wish to make, and to support it by a short examination of the grounds that have led to the connexion of this vase with Naucratis, and of the facts that seem to me conclusive against this connexion.

The first suggestion is due to Mr. Cecil Smith, who writes as follows of the pottery discovered by Mr. Petrie in the first season at Naucratis, 1884—5 (*Nauk.* I. p. 49): 'There is, however, one class of undoubtedly early ware which I am particularly interested to find at Naucratis: in the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. vi. p. 188 and note 2, I mentioned a series of vases from Rhodes of which the clay is black all through, with particles of some shiny mica-like substance in its composition; these are covered with a metallic brownish-grey glaze, and are painted with decorations in scarlet or purple and a colour which has usually faded, but which seems to have been white: thirteen of these were included in the recent Biliotti sale of antiquities from Rhodes, and are briefly described in my catalogue of that collection, Nos. 2—8. I there ventured to call them the 'Polledrara' style, because the great Polledrara

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<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Dümmler, *Mittheil. d. deut. Arch. Inst. Athenkunde*, p. 1957 (v. R.).  
*Rom.*, 1888, p. 165; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art.

hydria in the British Museum (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* pl. iv.) may be considered as the most important type of that style; on it we have represented in polychrome colours, and in an evidently Egyptian dress, the Greek myth of Theseus and the Minotaur; the usual patterns on the other vases of this style are the lotus and Maeander; and when we remark the tendency everywhere prevalent at Naucratis to polychrome decoration, and the Egyptian character of the 'Polledrara' ornament, I think we have fair ground for assigning this fabric to a Naucratic origin. From the Diary of Excavations in Rhodes I gather that this ware is usually there found with early objects of Phoenician workmanship; judging from this and from the archaic character of the other objects from the Polledrara tomb, I should say that this is the earliest of the fabrics represented at Naucratis.'

Such is Mr. Cecil Smith's argument; but it seems that those who have followed him in attributing the 'Polledrara' ware to Naucratis have been chiefly influenced by the polychrome decoration on a black ground which is found on the inside of Naucratic vases (as in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, pl. LXXIX.). We have then three points to consider: (1) the ware, (2) the colours used, and (3) the subject and style of the representations.

(1) The ware, which is black throughout, and not only on the surface, need cause no surprise when it is found in Etruria. The Etruscan ware, black throughout, is well enough known with decorations and figures in relief; and there is no essential difference in its nature because the decoration is applied in painting. We need not then necessarily suppose the vase found at Polledrara to be an importation from the East because the ware is black. On the other hand the nature of the ware does not preclude an Eastern origin, though I think it does preclude a manufacture at Naucratis.

The number of the black fragments found by Mr. Petrie in 1884—5, and described in the above paragraph by Mr. Cecil Smith, was very small; the similar vases found in Rhodes seem to be comparatively numerous. Now of vases we know to have been made in great quantities at Naucratis extremely few have been found in Rhodes.<sup>1</sup> If therefore a class of pottery found in considerable numbers in Rhodes is found only in a few fragments at Naucratis, we may fairly conclude that this class was not made at Naucratis, but either in Rhodes itself or more probably in some place that had more traffic with Rhodes than with Naucratis. Such seems to me the natural conclusion from the discoveries of 1884—5, which were before Mr. Smith when he wrote. In 1885—6 I obtained new evidence, which seems to tell us what the place was whence the export to Naucratis, and perhaps also to Rhodes, must have been made. In *Naucratis* II. p. 47 I mentioned several fragments and some almost complete vases or jugs of this black ware dedicated to Aphrodite; some of these bore inscriptions, all in the same alphabet and dialect, apparently Aeolic, and certainly not that of Naucratis itself: in two or three cases

<sup>1</sup> I know only of two in the Louvre, perhaps one in the British Museum, and one at Berlin. Perhaps others exist; but they cannot be many. Fragments of a Naucratic vase have

also been found by Dr. Giat among the pottery on the Acropolis at Athens: otherwise I do not know of exported examples.

the dedicator actually describes himself as a Mytilenaeon.<sup>1</sup> Since all these black fragments are clearly incised by people from the same place, and that place is fixed by some of the dedications as Mytilene, we can hardly be wrong in believing that the ware itself must be of Mytilenaeon manufacture; otherwise it is hard to explain why these Lesbians should have dedicated this ware and no other, and why none but Lesbians dedicated this ware. Herodotus expressly states that Mytilene was the only Aeolian state that took part in the colonisation of Naucratis. Assuming then that these black fragments from the temenos of Aphrodite are of Lesbian origin, we must next consider the other black fragments from Naucratis and the vases from Rhodes in the new light we have gained from later discoveries.

It must in the first place be recorded that few if any traces of colour were to be found upon the fragments dedicated by Lesbians to Aphrodite; while those found in 1884—5 had decorations in white and red, like the similar vases from Rhodes. But the presence or absence of colouring in purely decorative designs is an accident, possibly merely due to conditions of preservation, which is of small importance compared with the identity of the very peculiar black ware, unparalleled, to my knowledge, in the East in this period. I think then that we are justified in regarding all the black fragments from Naucratis, and probably also the vases from Rhodes of similar fabric, as the products of a single Eastern factory, and in applying to all alike the evidence we have found to help the attribution of one set of them to its true origin.

Without the new evidence of 1885—6, we were led to the conclusion that this black ware 'was not made at Naucratis, but either in Rhodes itself or more probably in some place that had more traffic with Rhodes than with Naucratis.' Our new evidence leads us just one step farther, and tells us what that place was. Of the traffic between Mytilene and Naucratis we know both from the statement of Herodotus already referred to and from the stories about Sappho and Rhodopis: Rhodes is a natural stopping-place between the two, and so Lesbian vases need cause us no surprise if they are found both in Rhodes and in Naucratis. In the recent excavations on the Acropolis at Athens a few small vases of the 'askion' shape have been found without colour, but showing a black ware practically identical though of somewhat coarser fabric; the clay when broken is black throughout: to these vases my attention has been called by Dr. Brückner. I see no reason why these should not also have been imported from Lesbos: no such black ware is known as Attic; and the rivalry between Athens and Mytilene on the Asiatic coast may probably imply some traffic between the two.

We have now the facts pretty clearly before us as to the discovery of this peculiar black ware in the Levant; and we see that if the great Polledrara hydria really were an importation from the East, we should have to assign it not to Naucratis but to Mytilene, judging merely from the nature of the ware of which it is made. Taking this as the result of the first section

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<sup>1</sup> *Naucratis II*. Pl. xvi. 786—793, p. 65.

of our investigation, let us now proceed to the second section, and consider the colours used.

(2) If we confined our investigation on this point of polychromy to the colours we find on the black ware, it would be a comparatively simple matter: the decorative designs we find on the Lesbian ware are in white and red only, the latter varying from scarlet to purple. But it is clear that those who have been induced by the remarkable polychromy of the Polledrara hydria to connect it with Naucratis, have had in view not merely the purely decorative designs in red and white that we find upon the black ware, but also the polychromatic figure-painting of the real Naucratic vases. We must therefore include in our present comparison those vases, made at Naucratis itself, of which specimens are reproduced in colour on Plate LXXIX. of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887; and in black and white only in the Plates of *Naucratis*, part II. The polychromy of these vases has a character of its own; and it is of a different nature on the inside and on the outside. On the inside it is invariably on a black ground; hence the comparison with the painted black ware is obvious. The designs are purely decorative, mostly lotus and palmetto, and are always in red and white; thus they certainly show a distinct resemblance to the black Lesbian fragments, and it is very probable that an influence is to be inferred either of Mytilene upon Naucratis or of Naucratis upon Mytilene, an influence probable from the relations we know to have existed between the two. But the blue, brown, red and white figure-painting of the Polledrara hydria is quite another matter, and I fail to see any resemblance in style or appearance. The figure-painting which we find occasionally on the outside of Naucratic vases is on a white or cream-coloured ground in brown, white and red; but blue is never used; and it is the appearance of blue that is the most remarkable feature of the Polledrara hydria. Here again, then, no real analogy can be found.

I must mention here some other fragments found at Naucratis which show painting in white and possibly other colours on a black ground, the ground being a black glaze applied over ordinary red pottery, and not the natural colour of the ware. Only two or three fragments were found (my type J, *Nauk.* II. p. 47), and there is not the slightest reason for supposing them to have been made on the spot. The subjects seem to be in some cases animal forms, the technique most closely resembles that of some similar vases that have been found on the Acropolis. This pottery however, but for the application of white and other colours on a black ground, does not show any connection with the style either of Naucratis or of Lesbos or of Polledrara.

So far then as concerns the colours used, the evidence for connexion between Polledrara and Naucratis is no more conclusive than that from the nature of the ware: in particular we note the absence of blue at Naucratis, and its presence on the Polledrara vase; and the appearance and manner of application seems totally different.

(3) We must next proceed to the style and nature of the representations; and this consideration must finally decide the question, especially when the technical evidence is so inconclusive. Here too we have two divisions to

discuss, the decorative treatment and forms, and the figures, human and other. I do not believe that in either of these it will be found possible to find any essential characteristic upon the Polledrara hydria which occurs also upon the pottery we know to have been made at Naucratis.

The purely decorative forms on the Polledrara hydria consist of lines in red, white, and blue, rays in red, maeander and lotus in red, white, and blue.

But the maeander when it appears is only in isolated members, not in a continuous band; and these isolated members are in red and blue alternating, or in white and blue alternating—an arrangement absolutely unknown at Naucratis. The lotus band has only buds, no alternating flowers or palmettos, such as we find invariably on Naucratic pottery, and it has dots above and below, also unknown at Naucratis. But it is in the use of the colours here that the contrast is greatest: while in the Naucratic ware the decorative effect is carefully calculated, the white and red on the black ground having distinct organic parts assigned to them in the composition, on the Polledrara vase we find an indiscriminate use of red, white, and blue which gives a confused and ill-assorted appearance to the whole—the connecting stems are white, the buds white and blue alternately, and the dots above are red, those below blue. The lotus is also scattered indiscriminately about the field—a thing we never see at Naucratis, where the ground is filled with the conventional rosettes, swastikas, &c. of the 'oriental' style, but no distinctly floral form is ever met with. On the other hand, flowers in the field are common enough in some early vases, those for instance of Melos and Phalerum, and the lotus especially in the Caere vases quoted by Dr. Dümmler, and the imitations made in Etruria.

Another peculiarity of the Polledrara ware, the grotesque faces on each side of the handles, is unlike anything at Naucratis, where harmony of colour and design was clearly thought more of than any such quaint devices.

But it is in the figure scenes above all that the essential difference of the Polledrara vase shows itself. At Naucratis we have no mythical scenes, no chariot groups, no horses, hardly any human figures: we have simply in their most elaborate decorative forms the beasts and fantastic creatures, sphinxes, gryphons, &c., in which the 'oriental' style of vase-painting delights. Now on the Polledrara hydria we have these subjects only incidentally introduced, as on all early vases: the main subjects are horses and chariots, and men and women—the same subjects that occur on the later Dipylon vases and on that large class of early Greek vases that does not draw its subjects from the fantastic oriental types, but from life and mythology. This distinction is, to my mind, essential and final; and we may accordingly assert without any hesitation that the Polledrara hydria was not made at Naucratis, and shows no affinity with Naucratic fabric, colouring, decoration, or subjects. For the black ware there is no need to go outside Etruria; and for the figures and decorations represented upon it we have to seek elsewhere an analogy.

II. *Vases from Caere.*

In an article published in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute at Rome for 1888, Dr. Dümmler discusses, in commenting on some fragments of a vase from Cyme in Asia Minor, a whole class of vases found at Caere which show similar characteristics. He then proceeds farther to infer that these vases found at Caere are imported from Asia Minor, and to mention a class of vases made in imitation of them by local vase-painters in Etruria. It is not my wish at present to enter upon the difficult discussion of the distinction between the Italian imitations and the Greek models from which they are copied, nor even to consider in general the origin and affinities of those models; Dr. Dümmler has made out a strong case for their connexion with certain Ionic vases, with which they have many peculiarities in common. His suggestion also, that the channel by which this influence reached Etruria is to be sought in the flight of the Phocaeans, and their foundation of the colonies of Velia and Massilia, also appears highly probable. The first and best known of this series of vases, which Dr. Dümmler regards as an importation from the East, is the famous hydria from Caere with Heracles and Busiris. On this and other vases are noted traces of a familiarity with Egypt which seems to prove an intercourse between that country and the Greek town where the vases were made, and by all these considerations Dr. Dümmler is led to propound two alternative hypotheses,<sup>1</sup> as follows:—

‘(1) The Caere vases come from Phocaea; thus will be explained alike the Rhodian elements, and the familiarity with Egypt through participation in the colonisation of Naucratis. In that case the fragments from Cyme will show a local variety of the style, and the Italian group quoted will show the decadence of this same style, which may probably have been transported by means of the Phocaeans at Elea.

‘(2) The fragments from Cyme are an importation from Phocaea. In that case the hydriae from Caere will represent an impetus of the same style in the colony of Naucratis; we must hold the same view of the Italian vases as in the former case.’

Against the first of these hypotheses I have no definite objections to raise, though it does not appear in all respects convincing: it is against the second that I wish to enter a protest. In our excavations at Naucratis we have found an extremely large number of vase fragments, both of pottery made at Naucratis and of imported ware, and among these were no specimens at all of vases like the hydriae of Caere. It may be objected that the vases we found almost all belong to an earlier period, or at least to an earlier stage in the history of vase-painting. But in this earlier stage we saw no trace whatever of any tendency towards the style and character of representations

<sup>1</sup> *Art. et.* p. 179.



which we see on the vases from Caere. And moreover we had very strong negative evidence against the manufacture of any class of local vases at Naucratis after the end of the sixth century: the Persian invasion of Egypt in 525 B.C. seems to have been a fatal blow to the prosperity of the town; and after the destruction of its temples, which is almost certainly to be assigned to this time, it is hardly possible that other and quite different styles of vase-painting can have arisen; no examples were found of any distinct local class belonging to the period after the Persian invasion; and hence it is highly improbable that any existed—much more that a remarkable class exported in such numbers to Italy was manufactured at this time in Naucratis. But Dr. Dümmler's suggestion, thrown out only as one of two alternatives, and not supported by any definite evidence, would probably not be insisted on even by himself in the face of the facts just adduced, and I have no desire to carry this controversial argument any farther; my only desire is that if any archaeologists wish to pursue the subject farther, and to argue from his results, they should at least set aside this his second alternative as in the highest degree improbable.

Another affinity, however, is worth mentioning. The grotesque dancing satyrs of the Caere vases have as little in common with Naucratis as with several other classes of early vases. The type of dance which we see for instance on Pl. xi. of *Naucratis*, II. is no more like those on vases from Cyme or Caere than are similar representations on vases of Corinth, Cyrene, &c. But I think a closer resemblance to this Asia Minor type of satyr may perhaps be seen on the vases found by Mr. Petrie at Daphnae, in Egypt, and reproduced in the plates of his volume on Tanis II., Nebesheh, and Defenneh. If we are searching for the origin of the Egyptian subjects and characteristics sometimes met with on the Caere hydriae, it seems that the Asiatic Greeks who held, as mercenaries, the military post of Daphnae, must be regarded as supplying a more probable channel of influence than the colonists of Naucratis. I would not go so far as to suggest that the Caere hydriae were made at Daphnae: but the affinity between the two styles is, I think, close enough to justify the assumption of some connexion and influence. It is remarkable that the two Greek centres of the Delta, Daphnae and Naucratis, seem to have so little in common in the style of their vases. At Daphnae the potters seem to have been more given to reproducing Egyptian forms and subjects; thus even from this point of view it offers a more likely channel than Naucratis for the influence we see in the Caere vases; and when the affinity in the treatment of Asiatic Greek subjects is also considered, the evidence becomes extremely strong for the connexion. For intercourse between Daphnae and Phocaea, or whatever place the Caere vases were made at, I do not know of any positive evidence, apart from that of the vases. But I think the probability is strong enough to be worth suggesting: else the Egyptian influence on the Caere hydriae is by no means easy to explain.

III. *Cyrenaic Vases.*

As regards the Cyrenaic vases, I wish to make an important addition to my statement on p. 51 of *Naukratis*, vol. ii. I there pointed out the essential difference between the Cyrenaic pottery and that which we know to have been made at Naucratis; and I also stated that I believed there was no evidence for assigning the fabrication of the Cyrenaic pottery to Naucratis; while the evidence for the attribution to Cyrene was increased by later discoveries. I regret that I was not aware, in time for insertion in my book, of another fact which seems to finally decide the question. So long as the only positive evidence for the connexion of this pottery with Cyrene was the cylix with Arcesilas and his silphium, the subject might be regarded as an accident. But another distinctly Cyrenaic subject would decide the matter; and such a subject has been both ingeniously and, I think, rightly identified by Dr. Studnicska<sup>1</sup> in the inner design of the cylix found by Mr. Petrie, and reproduced in *Naukratis*, i. pl. viii. and ix. Dr. Studnicska shows that we have in the middle not a tree, but a female standing figure with long hair, holding in her hand the silphium and a branch of the apple-tree of the Hesperides—both symbols known on coins of Cyrene. This figure is doubtless the nymph Cyrene herself; and so we have another and even more certain proof that the vases belong to her town. I believe Dr. Studnicska intends to publish both this and other arguments in his forthcoming work on Cyrene, a work awaited with great interest by scholars. Meanwhile I only desire to rectify an omission, and to acknowledge at once the correctness of an interpretation which I only passed over before because it had not, unfortunately, come under my notice.

ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER.

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<sup>1</sup> Meeting of the Arch. Gesellschaft in Berlin, 24 Dec. 1887, p. 1646.  
2 Nov. 1887. Cf. *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschrift*,

ON THE *ELECTRA* AND *ANTIGONE* OF SOPHOCLES.THE *ELECTRA* OF SOPHOCLES.

THE *Electra* of Sophocles betrays by the plainest indications that it is not a composition complete and rounded within itself, but only a fragment having the qualified completeness which fits it to contribute towards a larger symmetry. The action embraced falls short, it is very true but little, of full conclusion; Clytemnestra and her accomplice Aegisthus fall by the avenging sword of Orestes, and no such hints are admitted of the future troubles of the avenger, as in the treatment of the same subject by Aeschylus prepare for the concluding drama, the *Eumenides*. The moral dilemma, however, is neither wrought out to its complete statement nor to its most impressive solution. I find indeed in the play an illustration of a well-defined heroic nature and the eventualities of circumstance colliding with exalted character on the most critical emergencies; still we rise from the scene with sympathies in agitation—with minds eager upon interesting inquiries not pacified by adequate response.

The *Electra* is the second of the preserved plays of Sophocles—the *Antigone* being another—which bears the name of a heroine for its title; there is this further and more intimate analogy between the two plays, that both the heroines are called on, or believe themselves so, to interfere between rulers of the state and their political victims in the interest of domestic piety, and in doing so exercise an influence and acquire an importance that elevate them to the dignity of the tragic stage. And yet it would appear that this supreme dignity can scarcely under any circumstances be fully asserted for a feminine protagonist. Such appears to have been the feeling of Shakespeare, who reserves the leading position for women in comedy, but in comedy alone. Even in tragedies where the source of primary excitement is love, in *Romeo and Juliet*, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, the men even as lovers are first in interest as first in order; in tragedies where love of any form is more subordinate or absent, even Lady Macbeth, and still more the wife of Brutus, pale before their husbands, Margaret of Anjou before Gloster, and Lady Constance, after occupying the scene so engrossingly, is lost from it, and the action still moves forward with an interest unpausing—burns with fire unquenched.

It would seem indeed peculiarly alien to the associations of the Athenians, who secluded their women with such strictness even within private life, that

they should recognise an interest in the representation of female protagonists holding head against the rulers of the state; this anomaly may be paralleled by another: we may find equal difficulty in explaining how the democracy of Athens should be susceptible of such lively sympathy with the fortunes and incidents of tyrannies which in this day of Greece were less matters of distant observation than of obscure tradition. It may be that the charm of contrast, the piquancy of comparison, explains the seeming contradiction. Stories of extravagant violence are never more popular than in periods of pacified society, as the wild and the adventurous turn with relief to tales of soothing if not enervated sentiment. The sting of a personal tyranny however had still left its smart at Athens, which maintained a feverish apprehension, all the livelier because in some quarters the hopes of its possible revival still lived on. Then if the voices of women were rarely or never heard in political discussion, it is not necessary to cite illustrations from Aristophanes of a principle of human society in general, which makes it certain how the Athenian must have constantly taken his seat in the Pnyx not unbiassed by the hopes and interests of an agitated not to say turbulent home.

Still politics, politics especially at every most desperate crisis, are the sphere of man, of man when most specifically masculine, and to men most exclusively will every subject of the highest political tension be addressed. From either point of view, of audience or of poet, there would be difficulty in justifying an attempt to throw the full weight of tragic action of the highest political or of the most touching personal interest, on a woman. The problem is modified of course when political interests fall very decidedly into the background, but with them will then fall also the dignity of the tragedy. Whatever may be the fact with some of the finest tragedies of Euripides, it is not in Sophocles, not in the *Electra*, that we shall find the rule of subordination reversed. Such considerations, apart from any other evidence, might alone make us decline to accept the *Antigone*, historically sequent as it appears, for a concluding and culminating drama of a Theban trilogy preceded by Oedipus the King and Oedipus at Colonus. Our present concern, however, is with the *Electra*.

We find the daughter of the captor of Troy, the generalissimo of confederate Greece, leading miserable hours in the palace of her murdered father, and oppressed degradingly and in fear by an adulterous and murderess mother and her usurper paramour. At the catastrophe of Agamemnon she had been old enough to save by alert presence of mind the life of the child Orestes, and has never since cared to conceal that she looks forward to his return to inflict vengeance and assume the heritage of his father. Her persistent lamentations, reproaches and anticipations, which are threats by necessary implication, have caused her to be ill-treated in every possible way, not merely kept unmarried, a hardship on which she insists not unfrequently, but beaten, reviled, threatened, deprived of all but commonest food, and constrained to be clad in weeds unbecoming her condition; still she perseveres, unbent, undaunted: she leans still on hopes sustained by communications from the exiled Orestes promising the expected rescue, which is still and again delayed. Her sister Chryso-

themis bows to the storm, and except that she is as certainly excluded from marriage—which by continuing the line would produce vindicators of Agamemnon—she enjoys exemption from the persecution directed on her sister, is royally clad, and to appearance rather easily content to persuade herself that between her duty to a parent and to rulers of the state and her exemption as a woman from manly responsibilities, she may make the best of the evil days, still not materially so evil as to be quite unendurable, and to leave retribution to the gods.

The play opens with a dialogue between Orestes and his Pedagogue, to whom he was committed by Electra, who, having rescued him before, has now been his guide to Mycenae; and to him a degree of initiative is conceded throughout the adventure which prevents our becoming pre-occupied with Orestes to the disparagement of the attention we are called on to bestow on his sister. Then Electra and a Chorus of noble maidens (v. 129) open the story of her woes, her hopes, her afflictions, and the question of the prudence and the duty of her clamorous denunciations. The delay of Orestes (v. 306) has wrought her to a pitch of excitement in which it has become as impossible for her to restrain her feelings as, under the difficulties of her position, to execute piety as she would conceive it towards her father (v. 323). But for the hope of the arrival of Orestes, she would be unable longer to continue in life.

In such a temper she replies in the next scene to Chrysothemis, who enters in the becoming costume of a princess and prepared to carry libations to the tomb of Agamemnon, so deputed by her mother out of alarm at a dream. Persuaded at last by Electra, and relying on a promise that the secret shall be kept, she leaves the scene engaged to falsify her mission by spilling elsewhere the offerings committed to her and substituting others on her own and her sister's account—girdles and locks of their hair,—with added prayers to the dead for the speedy appearance of Orestes.

The next scene, between Electra and Clytemnestra, displays the murderess of a husband in all her ferocity, and the dialogue in its progress destroys all her pretences of justification. The Pedagogue then enters, with feigned details of the death of Orestes, and reduces Electra to despair, while his mother is filled with a joy which she scarcely cares to conceal: so the original hatefulness recognised in her nature receives its direst aggravation, and she is carried utterly remote from the sympathies of the spectator.

Electra at first collapses in despair, and when Chrysothemis returns rejoicing in an inference of the approach of Orestes, she dashes her hopes with the announcement of his death and, rising to the resolution of attempting the violent deed of vengeance without him, proposes to her sister to aid. Her sister recoils, and at last retires unpersuaded and dissuading: they are women, she represents again, not men: she will keep silence, but will take no active part in an enterprise so alien to the powers and duties of their sex.

The next scene is an interview of the disguised and unrecognised Orestes with his sister: he first draws from her a passionate expression of grief by delivering the urn containing his pretended ashes and then, it seems,

contrary to his first plan but overcome by her distress, he seeks to break to her his revelation, which, manage as he may, cannot but be sudden the moment it is complete. The consequence is an abrupt revulsion of her feelings to frantic joy: it is in vain that he endeavours to control her; again and again she breaks forth in loud and imprudent exclamations, and when the Pedagogue re-enters from the palace, we are not surprised to learn that all his management had been required to prevent the discovery being suspected within, if not overheard. The recognition of the Pedagogue as the servant to whom Electra had confided the boy Orestes follows and consumes more valuable time, and again the Pedagogue is foremost in inciting to promptitude. At last they all enter the house to find Clytemnestra in the known absence of Aegisthus, and presently are heard her exclamations and appeals, and the voice of Electra as loudly urging her brother to strike again and with effect.

Retribution is scarcely so far consummated when Aegisthus arrives in joy at the reception of vague news that Orestes is dead. He is first received by Electra, who has now recovered self-possession, and yet still talks in a degree with such enigmatical significance that an acuter mind might have taken alarm. He commands the palace doors to be thrown wide, expecting to behold the body of Orestes: he sees a covered corpse, is induced by Orestes himself to lift the mantle, recognises his slain wife, and then instantly knows his own impending fate.

Few words are employed by Orestes to reveal himself, but more are being interchanged when the tendency to prolong or defer action which seems to mark him all through—in his late arrival as well as in the process of his enterprise when at last at the full heat—calls forth the expostulation of his sister, and Aegisthus is driven ignominiously into the palace to be slain where he slew Agamemnon; such had been the command of the oracle, which comes in to help the effect of the final scene without an actual death upon the stage, just as the oracular command that the vengeance should be executed not by open force but by plot and stratagem assists in relieving the process of the agent from an imputation of a want of courage.

The uncovering of the body of Clytemnestra was probably managed without an actual display of it to the spectators; it is a parallel to the uncovering of the corpse of Ajax, where the description of the still spouting veins supersedes an actual exhibition, and to the management of the self-exhibition by Hercules of the horrid ravage of the envenomed shirt.

The tragedy then might seem written to exemplify what are the forces and the limits of feminine energy when tried to the uttermost. The adulterous queen leans upon her paramour, weak and base as he is represented and, it would seem, far less endowed with nerve for wickedness than herself. It is to him that she looks to restrain Electra, who finds control lightened in his absence; and she is bold in the confidence less of bolder than of simply masculine protection and support. Resemblance is here manifest to Lady Macbeth, who precedes indeed her faltering husband on the way to his crime, but even under the sustaining stimulus of wine recoils from the act,

and afterwards is only capable of supported or spasmodic wickedness and in sleep betrays the dreadful secret, even as Clytemnestra, who justifies herself waking, yet obeys the suggestion of a dream to send offerings to her murdered husband's tomb—an admission of inexcusable guilt. Electra, uncompromising in her horror at the deeds of her mother, as well as indignant at the cruelty which she still does not spare still further to exasperate, is supported by her communications with Orestes and her hope of his return.

The poet has elected to suppress all through any opening of the subject of the horror of matricide; the sense of this is never intimated as influencing in any way the progress of the plan of punishment nor as arising afterwards to haunt the executor of it. Even Chrysothemis never urges this point as a motive for withholding from the plans of retribution. The guilt of the adulterous and murderous royalties is admitted, and no suspicion is suggested that the children of the murderess should be excluded from the number who may be bound to administer justice: the oracle of Apollo is not, as in Aeschylus, called in to overcome mistrust by authority and by dire threats in case divine command is neglected. Clytemnestra rests her justification solely on the sacrifice by her husband of their daughter Iphigeneia, but does so in a way that proves how little she was really influenced by it. Her further designs against the life of Orestes and her scarcely dissembled joy at his supposed death, together with the general baseness of her paramour Aegisthus, as helped by her to be occupant of the throne of the great leader of confederate Greece, make up a charge before which all considerations seem to fade out of sight but the one great duty of inflicting signal and condign punishment. Brother and both sisters are so far perfectly in accord, but the less resolute Chrysothemis feels as little vocation for protest as for active violence. Bad as their condition is, protest will but make it worse: she is content to receive what alleviations she may by tranquil submission, and leaves revenge to the arm of men and to the turn of the hour which the gods are wont to care for in the good time that pleases them. Electra is not so patient; even when younger she had vigour enough to secure the safety of her brother from her mother's murderous design, and now, in constant hope of his return, she has spared no occasion of denunciation and threat, accepting all the consequences of blows and disgraces and danger. Orestes, remote and dallying as he may be, is her hope and her strength; but the hope fails, and what strength can be left her when she hears of his catastrophe? After a crisis in which she entertains the thought of suicide, she declares her resolution to execute the vengeance herself, and when her sister declines to be assistant will proceed alone. Her capacity for the undertaking is not put to proof, but may be judged from what we have seen—that Orestes, by revealing himself to her, brings on an access of uncontrollable excitement, a reaction of joy, that nearly wrecks his enterprise. The longed for masculine aid is now at hand, and at once she has recovered and is confident not now with the boldness of despair, but of undoubting and almost unreasoning reliance. We seem to have a converse illustration here of the Greek prudential maxim that Homer propounds when he makes Ulysses, under the advice of

Agamemnon indeed, withhold his confidence from Penelope before the execution of his vengeance, and when his disguise is penetrated by his nurse Euryclea, bind her to secrecy—devoted as she is and must be—with no words of kindness, but by the direst and severest threats. The wife of Marcus Brutus, in Shakespeare, all Roman as she is and daughter of a Cato, betrays the imprudence of her husband's confidence which she had so heroically challenged, by a significant uneasiness that goes near to betray his design, an incident quite in harmony with the self-destruction afterwards in hysterical crisis of the Portia of history.

Sustained then as the interest of the tragedy is, and touching as must have been the spectacle of the distress and difficulties and despair of the heiress of the great heroic family of Greece, it is impossible to suppress in the first instance a latent feeling that the symphony it embodies is never modulated out of a prevailing minor key. This must be so when the subject is conceived rather as the rescue of Electra than the punishment of tyranny, usurpation and traitorous murder; the mighty and—but for mightiest treatment—the revolting topic of the justifiableness of matricide under conceivable circumstances, which is so boldly treated by Aeschylus, being throughout left aside and carefully kept down and out of view. Shakespeare himself, who has not recoiled from the tragic exhibition of filial ingratitude, has never treated this theme in its largest relations, though in comedy he has not hesitated more than once to intimate that there is a point of conscience at which the authority of parents is rightly disallowed, and filial feeling itself may be justly obliterated. Thus much we gather from the stories of Ann Page and Jessica, though the nature of the pretty Jewess is too limited to do more than exemplify a characteristic fact, scarcely to sanction a principle.

It seems, therefore, at first not easy to suppose but that even such a tragedy must have been comparatively tame; that an Athenian fresh from the Pnyx and warm from political agitations in which he himself was a living actor must have risen from it with a hunger unappeased, with a sense, after a pause, that there were sympathies in his nature of wider range than could be affected by distress of princesses, however dignified by their natures and by tradition. On looking closer and deeper, however, we shall find these sympathies not quite unattended to: it was not consistent with the spirit of the time that they should be—Greek tragedy had ever the dignity not of a tragedy simply, but the dignity and the interest also of the national historical play. However remote in history or in mythology the subject might lie, it was still ever recognised as attached by a series of unbroken links to the current history, to the very existing tribes and even families of the day. Hence the mere illustration of a private passion, though it should have been complemented with all the marvellous local colouring that makes *Othello* Venetian and *Hamlet* German, would not in itself suffice to furnish the subject of the scene without some more or less direct bearing upon Greek character and Greek political interests and history. The same drama that should have been as ethical as *Hamlet* would be required to be as national as *Henry the Fifth*, or at least as *Cymbeline* or *King Lear*. The subject of the *Electra* in



itself fulfils these conditions perfectly: it is historical and national enough in the Hellenic sense, and still further the moral dilemma of which it treats is implicated with political contingencies which were of most exciting recurrence in those days and have even lost no interest in our own. A government based on murder and surprise is existing only for its own luxurious waste (1290) and mismanagement and cruelty; and those who suffer have the option of acquiescing in disgrace and by tranquillity making the best they may of bad times, and thriving even—but not thriving much without incurring guilt or suspicion of complicity;—or, on the other hand, with some regard for dignity and less for safety, persisting in protests that induce aggravations of oppression, in correspondence with exiles, and even in plots for recovery of independence by internal unaided rebellion and assassination of the tyrants. In the circumstances of Greece, tyrannicide had a peculiar aspect. The Greek tyrant usually represented only himself, his family perhaps, and an armed guard that had been his instruments for gaining a position, with no more general support, the party that had given him his guard being no less betrayed than the rest. For such a tyrant, ruling as a man with a weapon overawes a crowd of unarmed, there was as little place for condonation as for excuse. He stands in the world as a simple nuisance and a robber. His title is a fraudulent and forcible surprise, and this alone; quite as good a title it seems will belong to one of his own stamp who shall oust him by like means. But how much better will be the title of those who shall employ his own means against him, but as the representatives of a nation, or of that section of the nation which has really the true claim and capacity to govern? ‘The cutpurse of the empire and the rule—he stole the diadem and put it in his pocket,’ and had no more right to complain of an unsuccessful than of a successful attempt to pick his pocket of it again. The case seldom occurs now, perhaps has seldom ever occurred in all this simplicity—the purest military despot can usually pretend to represent some civil party—but the poet is authorised either to simplify or complicate contingencies as suits his purpose, his purpose being grand and worthy. The case in the drama is sufficiently defined, though the interests and dignities of a royal family have to stand for types of the interests of dominions which it was admitted they legitimately governed. Against such a rule as that of Aegisthus the right and the duty of revolution—and justifiable revolution involves ever a possibility of blameless failure—are clear and certain; and it must be said that excusable or even right as the sentiments of the comparatively prosperous Chrysothemis may be, the sympathies ultimately cling to Electra, who in her sordid apparel and wretched life gives no sign under all her oppression of either a bending or a broken spirit, risks all aggravation of her lot, and even in her passion neglects the policy of not so alarming the tyrants as to keep them ever on their guard. It is little enough, it may be said, that she contributes to the success of conspiracy and revolution at last; but as it was in virtue of the spirit that animates her that she saved the life of the avenger in the first instance, her appeals and encouragements to him have never been wanting since; and it is in her sufferings, the sufferings of a population sub-

jugated and yet not subdued, that the exile finds his quickening stimulus and in the relief of them his best reward (1427). History, old and young, enables us to translate all this readily into the terms that read legibly as political commentary, and need is not to follow further forth its bearing upon the views and feelings which enter into all the questions of the expediency of discontent, and its bearing, whether due to feelings of expedience or mere impatience, on ultimately prosperous revolution.

Here we have to remark that, whatever may be the persistency and desperate vivacity of the oppressed who are still not strong enough to initiate their own rescue, a subject in which their degradations and difficulties are the predominant theme must in its nature be of secondary dignity. Hence it is well that the representatives should be feminine,—a woman in whom a certain reduction of the dignity that pertains to vigorous action is more tolerable than in man. But we still await the satisfaction of a fuller sympathy, as in the interest of what the poet clearly elected to make the leading subject, Orestes is kept out of the position of protagonist. Here we have occasion at once to recognise how much is lost by the disjunction and still more by the loss of plays that were combined as trilogies. It would be futile to speculate as to what subjects must have been associated with the *Electra* of Sophocles. As we have seen, there is every reason for excluding a sequel in the immediate historical connection, and if a certain dependence of this kind is to be assumed it may have been by mythic or historic branch at unknown distance, and either to right or left. Then we have only to compare the *Electras* of the three tragedians to be aware how little guide a title or an incident affords to treatment or moral.

The course of development of the Greek tragedy from its original germ was certainly most vigorous and healthy, but still it was a consequence of the details inherent in its beginning, that a single action proved unequal at last to the development of ideas in the scope that the expanding intelligence of the audience and genius of the poets demanded. The invention of the trilogy—of sets of subjects, each complete in itself and yet each in the highest sense incomplete when disjoined from the others—vanquished the difficulty of conciliating the limited stage and numbers of actors and perhaps traditional management of the Chorus, with the inclusion of a range of topics and persons and associations that left no sentiment unappealed to, no interest unsatisfied.

It is too easily intelligible how grammarians took but little account of the ethical nexus that linked actions not otherwise necessarily, and on this wise not to them obviously, in sequence; so it is that the *Electra* comes down to us as a fragment; but not on this account must we do injustice to the poet by inferring his conclusions from a work that is designedly and for a further purpose incomplete.

THE *ANTIGONE* OF SOPHOCLES.

The parallelism of the *Antigone* to the *Electra* is much the same that subsists between *Hercules at Trachiniae* and the *Ajax*. The most salient agreement in the case of the two heroines is of course the contrast of an excited and exalted female character with a sister of less daring disposition. But both Antigone and Electra are under an oppression which is at once political and domestic, and as the dilemma of the *Electra* elicits all the considerations that pertain to the resistance to usurpation, that of the *Antigone* turns upon the right of private citizens to contravene the wrong enactments of a magistrate of undisputed title—a difficulty in either case of conflicting obligations, and in either case connected with the relations of rulers to aggressive exiles.

It is rash no doubt to venture beyond conjecture into an opinion that these two tragedies also—thus also parallel—supply another example of what may be called an antistrophic introduction of a trilogy; yet this venture I am inclined to make, for neither in one play nor the other do I find a conclusive enunciation or intimation of the true ethical import, and for both indeed, conjoin them as we may, a last word still remains wanting.

The *Electra* finishes with the dictum of Orestes that the condign punishment of all who set themselves above the laws is the sword, slaying—then not so rife would be audacity. This maxim may be said to be acted on firmly, ruthlessly, by Creon in the *Antigone*, with what success in result let the wretched catastrophe of the vigorous enforcer of the laws declare. From this catastrophe and from that of the victim of his severity the aged men who form the Chorus have again a moral of their own to draw,—prudential good sense (this beyond comparison is the great condition of happiness) said this, with a reflected glance at the headstrong Antigone;—then as in the second place, it is impressed as incumbent not to provoke the gods, as in the maltreatment of the corpse of Polynices—and lastly grand speeches like those of Creon provoke inflictions which have brought home the value of good sense after prolonged experience. We are no more to impute to the poet this mere prudential morality as his ultimate moral and inculcation, than the speech of the messenger to Creon shortly before—that prayers would not help, inasmuch as there is no escape for mortals from predestinate misfortune. Both doctrines are the comments of minds of an order below that of heroic interlocutors, and intended to give emphasis by very commonplace of enunciation to more dignified feelings already awakened and appealed to if not expressed as presently forthcoming.

Antigone is more stately in character as well as in the touchingness of her fate than Electra, and her story is read at least with most advantage, if it was not originally witnessed immediately after the Argive play. This would no doubt be in violation of historic sequence—a difficulty only to be removed by supposing that to the view of the Greeks it did not exist.—There is indeed such an absolute independence of the fables that the

incongruity is reduced to the lowest. What may or might have been the third play who shall undertake to say?—Not I. There is of course in the speech of Teiresias an intimation of consequences of an agitation among foreign cities; this I presume alludes to the war of Theseus against Thebes, which is the subject of the *Suppliants* of Euripides; but whether Sophocles wrote a tragedy on this action we as little know as we can satisfy ourselves how he would have treated it so as to close the subject and supply approximate solution of the moral dilemmas of the preceding plays. Nothing can be inferred from the scanty citations from his *Theseus* and his *Epigoni*.

In consequence of the action of the *Antigone* being in such immediate sequence to that of the *Oedipus at Colonus* there is always a temptation to infer that it is the third of a trilogy of which *Oedipus King* is the first. But the *Colonus* has characteristics in the local and political allusions to the actual state of Athens and the general tone, that seem to mark it decisively as a concluding drama. The *Antigone* on the other hand has the signs already noted of a suspended theme; dignified as it may be it is still dependent on the more restricted associations of feminine piety; and by falling in interest rather than rising at the end—for the mere retribution on the wretched Creon is of very secondary importance—it fails of the grandeur of a consummated climax, however valuably resting the mind and preparing the sympathies for a new movement of answerable magnitude to the opening. The concluding drama, whatever its theme, could not but have had, we must suppose, a hero and not a heroine for its leading character, and one whose passions and fortunes would be well before the spectator to the end.

The comparative flatness at the conclusion of such plays as the *Antigone* and the *Ajov* corresponds with what we observe at the end of many of the *Odes* of Pindar: in both poets I doubt not that it is a sign of a composition incomplete by lack of a lost or unrecognised sequel.

The Chorus of aged men who describe themselves (160), as summoned by Creon on public business, and are referred to by Antigone as wealthy and addressed by Teiresias (v. 987) as *ἀνακτες Θηβῶν*, is low and restricted in thought and feeling throughout, beyond the common level even of Chorus. They propound the conjecture that the covering of the exposed body of Polynices has happened by some divine interference, and bring on themselves a short and contemptuous reproof; it may also be noted here that the guard is represented with an almost grotesqueness of simplicity that seems to mark him as a barbarian—a Scythian—rather than as merely a Greek of low degree.

The submissiveness of the Senatorial Chorus throughout enhances the expression of the tyranny of Creon, and of his depression and degradation at last when he endures to be advised if not lectured by them. The emphasis on the contingencies of tyranny is in favour of the next play having turned on an Athenian subject, as the interference of Theseus, ruler of a free people. I could imagine that the expedition of Theseus against Thebes was made to illustrate the ethics of the justifiable interference of a neighbouring state to help an oppressed neighbour to shake off a tyranny, and of the justifiableness

of exiles without and malcontents within availing themselves under circumstances of aid that put them in the ostensible position of traitors.

There is great power in the engrossment of the mind of Antigone so entirely with her pious duty and resolute anticipation of its penalty, that only late and by direct suggestion does she refer to the love of Haemon—while lamenting generally her destiny to forfeit the hopes of wife and mother—a love which is yet strong enough on his part to cause him to die with her. Antigone goes to death with the sentence of the Chorus upon her, that she owes her fate to her headstrong passion; and not till frightened by the soothsayer do they think of revising the sentence,—a cold-blooded crew. They only listen to the dispute of Creon and his son, to first approve the dictum of Creon, and after Haemon's reply to approve that; in very imbecility they approve both: much is to be said on both sides.

It is part of the meanmindedness of Creon that he is always ready to suspect a sordid motive (v. 222); he suspects from the first that some one may be induced by a bribe to bury Polynices (295), and again taxes the guard with corruption and Teiresias also in the coarsest manner. At last the poet seems to so tone the exhibition of his despair as to suggest his paltriness of spirit in not being equal like his son or wife to self-destruction. His humiliation is at last complete, and yet still is this but poor satisfaction for those who have sympathised with Antigone.

The Chorus (v. 370 &c.) recognises in the burial of Polynices a feat of cleverness, not a deed of principle; man has unlimited cleverness, but to apply it to infraction of municipal laws puts one out of the pale of society.

v. 471. Chorus has no other remark on the noble defence of Antigone than that she takes after the savage temper of her father and lacks the intelligence to yield in difficulties—thus an imputed deficiency in that worldly wisdom which afterwards is said to be in effect the primary condition of happiness. So, v. 603, the fortunes of the house of Labdacidae are mown down by 'failure of rational intelligence—by an Erinny of the intellect'; (v. 624) again misery is traced to the proverbial origin—by a god causing wrong to be esteemed right, deranging the faculty of judgment as to expediency, in one destined to destruction. The anger of Haemon is a proof of the power of love in the same way, a madness that leads even the high-minded into trouble.

v. 800. Momentary compassion draws tears from the Chorus, though checked and self-condemned (v. 801) as involving complicity with infraction of a promulgated law. Still again the Chorus even (v. 817) tells the victim that she dies in glory and praise, but again slides off characteristically in the next line to meaner comfort, and in two following speeches relapses again into the unqualified assertion of supremacy of enactment. Their alarm at the denouncement of Teiresias is only not more abject than that of Cleon, because they are less directly threatened, and prudence speaks to them, not remorse.

Teiresias intervenes in the *Antigone* with much the same fortune and result as in *Oedipus Tyrannus*; he is deferentially complimented before he

announces an unwelcome oracle, insulted afterwards, and then retorts with something of professional pique and malignity by a more dreadful denunciation on the disobedient, which is only attended to too late. There is much here that reminds of the Hebrew prophets in relation to the kings, the anger of the king of Juda against the prophet who always prophesies ill to him, and the consequences of oracles disregarded. We might be led into such conjectures as that the prophetic function was really transferred from Syria to Boeotia in whatever historical facts lie at the root of the story of a Phœnician colony, and even see in the bird-watching of Teiresias a hint that the Hebrew prophet came to be said to be fed by ravens from no different suggestion. But prophet and king, like Church and State, are influenced and act by natural laws transcending mere tradition; there is quite as much of the Hebrew prophet in the Calchas of the *Iliad* as in the *Teiresias* of Sophocles.

There is a certain harshness and hardness no doubt in the character of Antigone by which we are a little reminded of the uncompromising virtue of Cordelia; but the exact temper is more likely to be misconceived in the Greek heroine, because the sister who is exposed to some of her severe speeches is far indeed from possessing—much less displaying—the shameless qualities of Regan or Goneril. Ismene flinches from an affectionate enterprise, or even duty; but this duty is one that calls for an heroic nature, and some tender indulgence may be claimed by feminine natures that are aware of no heroic impulse. Still there remains the fact that, when Ismene is appealed to, she does not merely fail in courage to join in the sacred exploit, but she fails to evince any adequate sense of its sacredness, of its incumbency. She is not merely decided not to take part in it, but she is fully reconciled to it being pretermitted altogether. The speeches by tone rather than in direct words, indicate this spirit sufficiently, but they are only just sufficient to do so. It is the art of the Greek dramatist, as of Shakespeare, to indicate outlines thus delicately, to blend a light into a light, but still to leave for the finer sense no uncertainty that different lights are blending, to forfeit none of its fine pleasure in tracing the delicacy of the delineation.

Of course the delicacy will be thrown away for many, and for these at the same time the distinction that it marks is lost, and serious indeed is the ensuing detriment to the poet's ideal. Even Boeckh fails to appreciate the contrast between the sisters—is blind to the definition of the moral colours. Yet the definition is again and still more emphatically repeated, when Ismene offers to share the responsibility of the committed transgression, and is severely enough repelled. The tone and terms of the repulse, as we might be bound to assume, are due to the knowledge by Antigone of the shallowness of the self-devotion now professed so late. The tone and terms of the rejoinders of Ismene justify all her rebuff. The offer is made, no doubt, but without passion, and in place of the ardent sisterly devotedness that could not, would not, be refused a partnership in suffering, there is a descent upon ratiocination—discourse of reasons.

So it is that in the *Prometheus Vinctus* the fettered Titan divines how

little of sympathy, and how much of curiosity, there is in the visit of his brother Oceanus, though it is only the undignified retirement of the visitor that justifies to the spectator the sneers inflicted.

Sophocles would not be in harmony with Shakespeare's genius if he also did not intimate that the strongest feminine nature is put to an unfair test by such a responsibility as Antigone winds herself up to accept. In her last speech, heroic as it is, there is just the suggestion of a mistrust that what she has ventured for the sake of a brother requires to be justified by some after-thought, even if a far-fetched excuse, which makes a brother's case exceptional. There may be weakness also in her last pathetic words; but it is such weakness as has been evinced by many a man well worthy to be recorded as a martyr, who has found himself forsaken and exposed through his zeal for piety to the direst sufferings that could be merited by the impious, and has been disposed in his agony to echo her ejaculation :—

τί χρὴ με τὴν δύστηνον εἰς θεοὺς ἔτι  
βλέπειν ; τί ν' αὐδᾶν ξυμμάχων ; ἐπεὶ γε δὴ  
τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦς' ἐκτεσάμην.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

## A STUDY OF PHRYGIAN ART. (PART II.)

It may be permitted me to return for a moment to the question, touched on in my first paper, as to the age of the Lion-Gate at Mycenae. The distinction which I drew between the age of the gateway and that of the tombs within the sacred precinct seems to me to be too much neglected, and its significance to be misunderstood. There is a whole class of legends whose object is to make out for the conquerors of the Peloponnesus a legitimate right to its possession. For example, the Aetolians who conquered Elis gave themselves a mythical justification by the tale that an ancestor of their chiefs had been expelled from Elis, and that they were returning to claim his inheritance when the crime for which he had been expelled had been expiated by generations of banishment. Similarly the Spartans found that they could make their cause a just one only by bringing to Sparta the bones of Orestes, the ancient and rightful king. When after a long search they found them, they brought them home, and no doubt instituted a cultus at the grave.<sup>1</sup> After they had thus legitimised themselves by continuing the worship of the ancient chiefs of the land, they were strong to conquer the Tegeans. The worship of Helena and her sacred tree are also well known at Sparta. I believe that there existed at Mycenae a similar worship of the ancient chiefs of the land. The Dorian conquerors continued the family cultus of the chiefs whom they dispossessed. Probably there was both in Mycenae and in Sparta an interval during which the worship was discontinued by the Dorian conquerors, and then the ancient cultus was restored. We shall hardly be wrong if we attribute this zeal of the Dorians to prove themselves rightful heirs of the Achaean chiefs to the growing influence of Homer. It was incumbent on the Dorians to show respect to Homeric traditions, and to prove themselves the lawful possessors of the Homeric poems. Argos, the leading Dorian state, probably began this practice, and Sparta imitated it. The myth at last became a fixed belief, and the Spartan king Cleomenes, at the end of the sixth century, could say, 'I am no Dorian, but Achaean.'<sup>2</sup>

While the Lion-Gate seems to me to belong to the period of the Dorian kings of Argos, perhaps 800-750, the tombs are pre-Dorian. As to the

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<sup>1</sup> While I accept from Herodotus the fact of Dorian recognition of Orestes, I do not believe that his account is anything more than a popular legend to explain an existing cultus, or that the date about 560 which he assigns can be taken as historical. The ignorance of the forg-

ing of iron implies an earlier origin even for the legend.

<sup>2</sup> To quote these words as a proof that Cleomenes was really of a non-Dorian family, as has been done, seems to me a misunderstanding of the nature of Greek legend.



interval which is to be placed between the making of the tombs and the building of the gate, I can venture no opinion, though I entertain a dislike to go back with Furtwangler and Löschke to the sixteenth century. Excavation will doubtless show whether the distinction of age which I make between the tombs and the gate is right or wrong. If, contrary to my opinion, they must be referred to the same period, I should be glad if evidence accumulates to carry back our knowledge of Greece to a remote date, though at present I feel that more evidence is required. My principle has been to give what seemed to me the latest date, and in every case any modification of my views will probably be to give greater antiquity to the monuments alluded to in these papers.

Since the first part of this paper was published, part of MM. Perrot and Chipiez's account of Phrygian Art has appeared. I shall be obliged occasionally to dissent from some of the views which they have advanced, and to criticize some of the drawings which they have given; but I hope that the expression of dissent on isolated points may not tend to obscure the large amount of agreement in our views as to the date, character, and origin of Phrygian art; and that my criticisms of some drawings<sup>1</sup> may not hide my admiration of the care with which the two authors have from very insufficient and scattered materials gathered their account of the Phrygian monuments. I shall also have to state in some cases that M. Perrot has not correctly understood my opinions and statements privately communicated to him; the misunderstanding should be attributed partly, I have no doubt, to my own obscurity of expression, and partly to the difficulty of communication, when each speaks more fluently and understands more readily a different language from the other.<sup>2</sup> I also have to acknowledge several cases in which I have been taught a better opinion by M. Perrot's exposition. M. Perrot more than once refers to my having refrained from publishing any complete account of the Phrygian monuments. I hoped in 1884 to make, in company with Mr. A. H. Smith, a complete study of the subject; but his health first delayed and finally stopped the joint work. My other journeys have been made in far too economical fashion to permit the careful study I had hoped to make with the skilled aid of Mr. A. H. Smith. The present imperfect study would have been published before this time if every one were as convinced as I am of the historical importance of the subject. Considerations of expense have forced me to omit about half of the illustrations I once intended to give here:

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<sup>1</sup> Their fig. 117 is in some respects more successful than my fig. 9, but there are two faults in it. (1) It is the right warrior, not the left, which is complete—my fig. 7 represents the relief from the opposite view, viz. from the interior. (2) The rows indicating the hair of the Gorgon-like figure are not visible in a front view, but only in a side view. They are indicated on the edge of the relief, the head is indicated as a flat surface and the edges are cut sharp and square down to the back-

ground. I have omitted to mention this detail in my description. I could detect no attempt to indicate eyes. But the large drawing gives a far better idea of the relief than my tiny figure 9.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 128 (cp. p. 105, n. 1) is due to Mr. Blunt, not to me, while fig. 90, which is attributed to Mr. Blunt, is due to me, and differs from the drawing by Mr. Blunt, which is among the papers of the Society.

of the rest, those which are already completed will appear elsewhere, while those which are unfinished will probably remain so.

One can hardly appreciate without experience how difficult it is to attain accuracy in regard to these Phrygian monuments. Their great size, and the difficulty or impossibility of getting near enough to make measurements or examine carefully; the regularity of character on a general view combined with frequent irregularity in detail on closer view, and the individuality of type so different from any other ancient art, lead the observer frequently into error. I might mention several curious instances of such errors, which have happened to myself or to others; but I shall give only one, which happens to aid my purpose. MM. Perrot and Chipiez publish (fig. 48) a drawing of the Tomb of Midas, made by M. Tomaszkievich after a good photograph by Mr. Blunt. This drawing is in some respects inaccurate, for it is very difficult to find a draughtsman who has patience enough to imitate the almost infinite complexity of the Phrygian pattern. M. Perrot, who on p. 86 mentions that the arrangement of the maeander pattern in Texier's drawing on the right and left of the false door is inaccurate, does not observe that in the drawing which he himself publishes there is some inaccuracy in this respect.<sup>1</sup> He however publishes, in order to show, in correction of Texier, the real character of the false door and of the pattern round it, another drawing (fig. 49) by M. Guillaume, the draughtsman who accompanied him on his expedition through Phrygia and Galatia in 1861. This drawing, which had been published in M. Perrot's *Voyage Archéologique*, p. 112, represents on a larger scale than fig. 48 the false doorway in the lower part of the monument together with the maeander pattern round it. This second drawing contradicts not merely Texier but also the preceding fig. 48 with regard to the arrangement of the maeander pattern. Fig. 49 is in this respect right; but it is certainly confusing to the reader that a drawing made from a photograph should be contradicted by a drawing made by eye, and that the contradiction should not be commented on. But M. Guillaume's drawing contradicts fig. 48 in another respect, viz. in regard to the thickness of the raised pattern compared with the sunk spaces. Fig. 48 in this respect agrees with Texier, and is correct, while the drawing which is given expressly to illustrate a small part of the monument on a larger scale is wrong. Yet the text gives no hint of divergence in this respect, and the reader is left to the free choice between the two, or rather is encouraged to follow M. Guillaume's drawing in all respects.<sup>2</sup> This is so remarkable that no one will believe it possible. But those who doubt my statement can verify it by comparing Perrot's figs. 48 and 49 with each other and with the excellent photograph of Mr. Blunt.<sup>3</sup>

The peculiar characteristic of the maeander pattern on the Midas-Tomb

<sup>1</sup> The inaccuracy is very slight on the right side, but more serious on the left side.

<sup>2</sup> So puzzling are these patterns that, although the error relates to a point which has particularly interested me, I had looked cursorily many times at the drawing without observing the

error. One can never be sure of having understood the pattern without drawing it with one's own hand.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Blunt intimated in the *Journal* his readiness to supply copies of this photograph at a very small price.

is that it is founded on a unit of measurement, which as near as I could estimate is  $10\frac{1}{3}$  inches. Every line, both horizontal and vertical, throughout the macander pattern coincides with one of the lines of a pattern of squares of this size. The accompanying sketch, fig. 14, in which drawings by Texier, Tomaszkievich, Blunt, and Sir C. Wilson all agree, and which can be verified from Mr. Blunt's photograph, shows the character by completing a small part of the fundamental pattern in dotted lines.

The same character may be observed in numerous other monuments, yet M. Perrot nowhere explicitly mentions it. It must however be reckoned one of the most distinctive features of Phrygian work. For example, there is an unmistakable resemblance between the pattern of the king's robes on the Ibriz monument and the pattern of the Midas-Tomb, as I have frequently pointed out. But the Ibriz monument fails in this characteristic, and this difference alone, not to mention locality, would stamp it as non-Phrygian. It shows a pattern wrought by thinner lines on a surface.<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Wilson called my attention to this character, while I was laboriously drawing the minute pattern of the Ibriz robes and making it too like the Midas pattern.

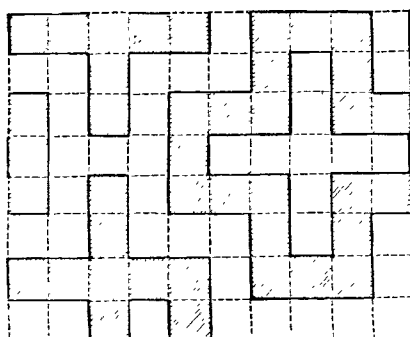


FIG. 11.

M. Guillaume's drawing disguises this character. He makes the raised spaces thinner than the sunk spaces. The difference may to some seem slight, and my criticism may seem hypercriticism; but it is on the observance of these slight differences that scientific archaeology depends, and my point is that this character is distinctive of a class of Phrygian ornament and decisive as to its origin. This class of ornament is not imitated after a pattern worked on a surface or background, like a carpet pattern; there is in it both analogy to and difference from carpet work (Perrot, p. 193).

I have alluded to this character before,<sup>2</sup> and hoped that my brief allusion would be understood by those who study Phrygian art, but, as is clear from

<sup>1</sup> The incised parts are thinner than the raised parts at Ibriz; M. Guillaume shows the raised parts thinner than the incised parts on the

Midas-Tomb.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1882, pp. 26-7, and note on p. 26.

the necessity laid on me of writing the preceding paragraphs, I sacrificed perspicuity in seeking after brevity. Consequently it is now necessary to explain myself more clearly and fully. In the explanation I hope to show the origin of the Phrygian pattern.

The Phrygian ornament then in its simplest form is a chessboard pattern of squares alternately sunk and in relief. This pattern is used to ornament the sides and roof of a small chamber cut in the rock underneath the city wall, a little way to the south of Gate D (see plan, fig. 11: the exact situation is not marked, but it can easily be found by an explorer). In the next stage the simple chessboard pattern is made more complicated by suppressing some of the divisions, and making several squares continuously either sunk or raised. A very simple example is the tomb called Maltash, *J.H.S.* 1881, Plate XXI. A (Perrot, fig. 60). An example rather more complicated is the Midas-Tomb. Fig. 14, in which the dotted lines show the fundamental pattern, makes the character of the ornament clear.

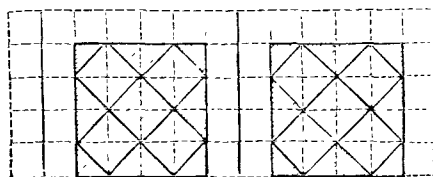


FIG. 15.

A further complication is introduced by placing smaller squares obliquely inside the squares of the fundamental pattern. This appears in the border that surrounds the maeander pattern of the Tomb of Midas, in the Tomb of Arezastis (fig. 13, Perrot fig. 58), in the tomb shown by Perrot fig. 59, and in the tomb near Bakshish.<sup>1</sup> The border of the Midas-Tomb is an unsuccessful attempt to construct a pattern of this kind. The fault of this attempt is that the square enclosed between the four lozenges must either be larger than the lozenges if it keeps to the fundamental lines of the pattern, or if it is the exact size of the lozenges it must desert the fundamental lines.<sup>2</sup> Each of these alternatives produces an awkward effect, and this type is not repeated anywhere else.

A more successful attempt to combine the lozenge and the square is shown (with the fundamental squares dotted) in fig. 15. It is used on the three monuments just mentioned.

This development in art seems to be decisive as to the chronology of

<sup>1</sup> Perrot fig. 61, 62.

<sup>2</sup> It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the lines of the fundamental pattern are arranged obliquely instead of horizontally and vertically. In that way also trial will show that if the four lozenges coincide with the lines of

the fundamental pattern, the squares between the four lozenges have not their angles on the fundamental lines. The fundamental lines are, of course, purely imaginary, and I speak of them only in order to bring out as clearly as possible the actual character of the Phrygian pattern.

these tombs. The tomb called Maltash is in the neighbourhood of the Lion-Tombs. All the other monuments of that neighbourhood seem to me to be of a more archaic type than the Midas-Tomb. But so long as I could find no definite standard to determine whether Maltash or Yazili Kaya (*i.e.* the Midas-Tomb) were the older, I did not feel ready to face the question of chronology. But now that the Maltash is shown to belong to an earlier stage of development, it seems justifiable to assert that the acropolis and the monuments at the Lion-Tombs belong to an older period than the Midas-Tomb and the vast majority of the monuments connected with it.

The Midas-Tomb again is older than the Tomb of Arezastis. It is improbable that artists who had elaborated the ornamentation of fig. 15 should go back to the type of the border of the Midas-Tomb. When they had elaborated the type of fig. 15, they used it on a number of monuments. Moreover a new ornament, the rosette, is introduced on the Tomb of Arezastis, and finally even a glance at the inscriptions is sufficient to convince us of the greater antiquity of the Midas-Tomb. The forms of epsilon and sigma are clearly more ancient on the latter.

At the same time there cannot be a great difference in time between these two monuments. The artists were clearly striving after variety in the use of their pattern, and could not halt long on the progress to fig. 15. Moreover the children of Akenanolas erect both monuments.

The monument published by Perrot, plate 59, is later, but only a little later than the Tomb of Arezastis. The resemblance in the ornamentation both of the rectangular surface and of the pediment is so complete that the two monuments are stamped as of one and the same period. But this uninscribed monument is more complicated: it introduces in addition to the rosette one more new type of ornament, *viz.* a zone of a lotus and palmette pattern. The artists are constantly struggling onwards towards new forms. Moreover, if the illustrations at my disposal are correct, the ornament inside the pediment, which in the monument of Arezastis is significant, is given in an abbreviated meaningless and conventional style on the uninscribed monument. In the former we see in each half of the pediment a double door shut and barred; for Phrygian religion, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> regarded the door as one of the necessary parts of a tomb. In the latter we could not understand what the objects represented within the pediment were, unless we had the Tomb of Arezastis to explain their meaning.

A decided and important step in this development is marked by the next monument of this class, the tomb at Bakshish. As I do not find M. Perrot's illustrations sufficiently accurate, and as I have been obliged to suppress the illustrations which have been prepared, I must refer to another place for the continuation of this exposition. I may however say briefly that I must retract my former theory, that this kind of ornament is imitated from carpet-work. The ornamented robes at Ibriz show what is the result of

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<sup>1</sup> Part I. p. 371 : *J. H. S.* 1884, p. 254ff. M. 102) that there is a door on this monument. Perrot somewhat strangely has not noticed (p.

imitating in stone coloured or embroidered work; the result is a thinner pattern on a broad surface. The drawing of M. Guillaume might allow us to consider the ornament of the Midas-Tomb as of the same character, but the preceding paragraphs have shown marked difference between the two styles amid their general resemblance.

The whole class of Phrygian pattern appears to me to be the imitation in stone of some kind of tile-work. *e.g.* the covering of a flat surface like the wall of a room with a pattern of tiles or of square plaques of ivory or bronze. That there should be a decided analogy between the pattern aimed at in this kind of ornament and the patterns of carpets is natural, but the difference is also natural. Hence I explain the combined analogy and difference between the Ibriz and the Midas monuments. The raised spaces on the Midas-Tomb represent tiles of one colour, and the sunk spaces tiles of another colour. The pattern is produced by placing several tiles of one colour side by side. In the simplest form of the Phrygian pattern, single tiles alternate. The Ibriz monument imitates cloth in which similar patterns are made by bands or threads of one colour on a surface of a different colour. We now see how the border round the Midas-Tomb produces a different effect from the other extant examples. It cannot be produced by square tiles, whereas all the other examples of the Phrygian pattern can be produced by placing side by side either square tiles of two different colours, or square tiles and halves of square tiles.

It is possible also to work backwards from the monuments of this class. The arrangement of the low, simple and bare pediment within the chamber of the Broken Lion-Tomb (part I. p. 358, fig. 5) is distinctly of the same type as that of the Maltash pediment; but the latter introduces a little ornament on the shaft of the supporting column.<sup>1</sup> The Maltash as a whole is in form like one side of the chamber, covered with ornament instead of being left plain as in fig. 5: it is therefore a development and later than the Broken Lion-Tomb. The latter in its turn is obviously later than the other still perfect Lion-Tomb, with its simpler forms, and its perfectly plain chamber.

The monuments of the class of Maltash, &c., are obviously imitated after one of the end walls of a chamber such as is shown in figs. 2 and 5, with the addition of a central acroterion as a crowning member. The Phrygian must have adopted from Assyria the use of tiles to adorn the walls of rooms. At an early time they constructed such monuments as the Lion-Tombs and Perrot's fig. 75, and avoided sacrilege by placing the entrance high in a perpendicular rock. Then the idea occurred to their artists to make the front of the tombs like the side of a chamber, and to conceal the actual grave behind or beneath it. After making several large monuments of this class, they struck out a new style in the monument at Bakshish, and at this stage in their development came the Cimmerian invasion.

The tomb at Bakshish appears to me to belong to the old Phrygian

<sup>1</sup> The two pediments are even more alike than can be gathered from pl. xxi A. The supporting column of the pediment in each is of the same

type, with a rectangular capital and base, the base smaller than the capital.

kingdom, which perished about 675. It marks a new departure in style, and is separated by an interval from the group of monuments, those of Midas, Arezastis, and the uninscribed one. These three are of the same period: monuments of such size however cannot be strictly contemporary, but must represent successive efforts, dating according to my theory about the latter part of the eighth century. Placing the earlier monuments of the series at a certain interval from each other, we certainly reach back into the ninth century for the date of the Lion-Tomb, fig. 10, p. 368.

I find myself still obliged to adhere to the same chronological order which I stated in this *Journal*, 1882, p. 28. The monuments showing sculptures in relief of human and animal figures are older than those which are covered with geometrical patterns, while the latter again are older than a very large group of a markedly architectural type. The last class, as I then said, appear to me to belong to the revival of the Phrygian kingdom under Lydian domination, after the expulsion of the Cimmerians. About the year 600 and earlier, we find that the Assyrian and the Median power, which reached (one before the other) as far as the Halys, come into contact, not with the Phrygian, but with the Lydian kingdom. By the treaty of 585 B.C. the Halys was recognized as the boundary between Lydians and Medes. During the reign of Croesus the Phrygian king of whom Herodotus speaks was a vassal king. When the Persians seized the Median power, Croesus crossed the Halys to attack them. During this period and the Persian domination which followed, Phrygian art was not wholly inactive, but was nerveless and degenerate in character, and passed under the influence of foreign models<sup>1</sup> more and more completely as time went on. The monuments of this period are very numerous, but far smaller in size than the greater monuments of the old time.

This later period, which I have styled the architectural period because the tombs take the form of temples or perhaps of houses, comes to an end at the Gaulish invasion about 260 B.C. At that time there must have taken place the complete devastation and desolation which Strabo attests as having before his time replaced the ancient civilization of Gordius and Midas. No record attests that the Gauls desolated Phrygia, but such record is not necessary to tell us what must have taken place when the hordes of Gauls were sweeping across this district to take possession of the plains of Galatia. It is certain that the country in which the Gauls finally settled down begins almost at the eastern base of the mountains in which the Phrygian monuments are, for the territory of the Trocnades, who are obviously Gauls from their name, lay not far from these mountains.

In part I. p. 381 the expectation was expressed that M. Perrot would place before the eyes of scholars the first trustworthy representation of the Midas-Tomb. I regret very much that M. Tomaszkievicz's drawing fails in

<sup>1</sup> Formerly I thought that Greek art exercised great influence in this period, but I have been taught better by Professor G. Hirschfeld. I see

much Persian influence (differing in this from Hirschfeld) and a little Greek, the latter very late.

accuracy in several respects, and though it is on the whole the best that has been published, yet several corrections have to be made in it. One of them has already been mentioned—the misrepresentation of the arrangement of the maeander pattern on the left of the false door. The number and arrangement of the diamonds in and over the pediment is incorrect, as is clear from the photograph. He has also placed the little cave or chamber on the left a little too near the sculptured face, and too high; this error is apparently due to his misunderstanding one of the shadows. He has given the inscriptions on the right and over the monument very incorrectly, and it might have been expected that he should with the help of the photograph have represented the breaks and the lower surroundings of the monument better. In his note on p. 86 M. Perrot remarks that there are only two inexactitudes in Texier's drawing, but a comparison between Texier and fig. 48 shows that there are numerous other slight variations, in regard to all of which the reader is left in doubt which authority is to be followed. In some cases fig. 48 is right, while in others Texier is right. One really serious error is that Texier has completed the pediment and represented it without any central support. All other Phrygian pediments of this early time have a central support, and, while the fracture of the rock prevents certainty, yet in all probability the Midas-Tomb had a similar vertical member beneath the acroterion.<sup>1</sup> Another very important difference between Texier and fig. 48 is in respect of the central acroterion. Texier gives it as composed of two sets of concentric circles. The reader is struck by the style of this acroterion. He turns to fig. 48, and finds that M. Tomaszkievicz gives it as two spirals, resembling a sort of Ionic capital.<sup>2</sup> Some warning should in the text be given of such a serious divergence. The point is rather difficult to determine in the mutilated state of the central part of the pediment; but Sir C. Wilson and Mr. Blunt both agree with Texier, and my memory is clear as to discussing the point with them on the spot and agreeing in this opinion. Texier, indeed, completes the acroterion in a way that is probably incorrect, for the central part of it is now broken away. But the remaining parts are sufficient to show that all the curves are parts of concentric circles. The photographs of the monument by Blunt and Hogarth seem on a first glance to make the curves spiral, but this is due to the shadows, which have deceived M. Tomaszkievicz. Sir C. Wilson also points out to me that every curve in every acroterion of this class of monuments is part of a true circle.

Each of the points which have just been mentioned may seem slight and the enumeration of them may be tedious, but it is on correctness in such points that an appreciation of the style depends. Much time would be saved, and far greater clearness would be gained, if a really correct drawing were published. It is remarkable that no representation of this monument which does not contain numerous faults of detail has yet been published, and that

<sup>1</sup> I have not access to Texier's large work and have to content myself with the drawing published in his small work, *Asie Mineure*.

<sup>2</sup> He gives the right spiral distinctly, while the left which is uncertain must be understood to resemble the right.



I should still have to plead that the Midas-Tomb is important enough in the history of art to justify the expense of an accurate drawing.

The first part of this paper broke off while discussing the character of the Midas-Monument. I consider it to have been sepulchral. M. Perrot has now stated his opinion clearly: it was a monument erected by the Phrygian princes to a legendary ancestor, whose name they had taken and whom they worshipped as a god, a sort of mythical representative of the actual dynasty. I still continue to think the sepulchral character is more probable.

I may be allowed to guard against the imputation that I simply took up the most obvious view,<sup>1</sup> and now continue to maintain it against a new suggestion. Both views were in my mind, balanced against each other, from the first day I saw the monument onwards. Sir Charles Wilson, when I visited the Midas-Monument in his company in June 1881, at once inferred from the want of a grave that the purpose was religious, not sepulchral. I allowed the question to hang undecided in my mind for a long time. Even now, if I saw any argument for M. Perrot's view, except the single one that lies in the non-discovery of a carefully and successfully concealed grave, I should be quite ready to accept his opinion.

M. Perrot appears to me to draw far too broad a line between religion and sepulture. The Greek distinction between the Olympian gods and the gods of the world of death is in his mind, and hence he says on p. 158 (obviously arguing against my views stated in this *Journal*, especially in 1884, p. 242 ff.), that no indication either in the ancient texts or in the monuments justifies the belief that Cybele ever held the place of sovereign of the lower world and protectress of the dead. The remark and the distinction would have been unintelligible to a Phrygian. The goddess, the embodiment of the creative and recreative power of nature, is the mother of all life, from whom we come, and to whom we go. Every important text and monument seem to me to necessitate this view, but the subject is too wide for me to enter on in this place.<sup>2</sup>

M. Perrot quotes (p. 102, n. 1) a passage from Hesychius, which certainly seems to tell in his favour, as he gives the text. I do not know from what source he takes the quotation, but according to M. Schmidt's edition of Hesychius he gives it in a form both inaccurate and incomplete.<sup>3</sup> It should be as follows: *Μίδα θεός· οἱ ὑπὸ Μίδα βασιλευθέντες ἐσέβοντο καὶ ᾠμνον τὴν Μίδα θεόν, ἣν τινα μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκτετιμῆσθαι λέγουσιν*. I understand this to mean that the subjects of Midas revered and made oath by the

<sup>1</sup> La première hypothèse qui se présente à l'esprit, p. 89. I should rather say that the most obvious reflexion, which rises in everyone's mind on first seeing the monument, is that it cannot be a tomb, as there is no apparent place for a grave.

<sup>2</sup> The Phrygian mysteries, as to whose rites we are well informed, are a presentation in gross symbolism (according to the primitive social circumstances and the elementary ideas of

nature which existed at the time) of this religious idea. The ideas entertained by the Greeks about Cybele are in the main Greek and not Phrygian, and should have no weight attached to them.

<sup>3</sup> On p. 102, n. 1, he gives it *Μίδα θεός. Οἱ ὑπὸ Μίδα βασιλευθέντες ἐσέβοντο καὶ ᾠμνον τὸν (sic!) Μίδα θεόν*. On p. 14 he infers from this misquotation that 'Midas se confondait avec un de ces dieux dont le culte resta populaire,' &c.

goddess of Midas, who some say was honoured as his mother. The allusion is to the idea, on which I have had to insist so frequently, that, according to the Phrygo-Lyidian belief, their chiefs were the sons of the goddess. The chief or king has a goddess-mother, and goes back to his mother when he dies. The extract from Hesychius should have been quoted in my part I. p. 369, as a proof of the view there stated.

This idea was adopted along with the religion of Cybele by the conquering tribe who penetrated from the northwest into Phrygia about B.C. 900. The inscriptions seem to prove that this tribe had the custom of reckoning descent through the male line. If my interpretation is correct, we have Ates Arkiaevais son of Akenanolas, Arezastis wife of Akenanolas, Phorkyn Tegatoz son of Akenanolas, Baba Memevais son of Proitas. But the social condition of the country after the conquest was, according to my view, a mixture of the habits of the conquering caste with the old religion of the country. Some therefore say that the goddess of Midas was honoured as his mother. In Lydia this idea was, as Gelzer has shown, held in the form that the husband of the heiress was king, and the husband of the heiress's daughter succeeded; but this cannot have been the case in Phrygia, if we may judge from the statement of descent through the father and also from the recorded fact that the last king Midas married the Cymæan princess Demodike. The tomb of Arezastis however with its inscriptions seems to attest that great honour was paid to the mother in Phrygia, and according to one tale Midas was the son of the prophetess-wife of Gordius, whose divine power of prophecy probably points to her being ultimately the goddess herself, the mother of Midas.

I will not however conceal an analogy, not observed by M. Perrot, which may perhaps be held to tell in his favour. An inscription of Anaboura, a town on the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier, where however the native language was the same as in Phrygia, belonging to the first century after Christ, mentions a donation to the state by Obrimianos and Mousaios, sons of Julius. They end by emphatically declaring their descent from Manes Ourammos. In publishing the inscription in 1883, I said: 'It is uncertain whether Manes Ourammos is a god, or a heroic semi-divine progenitor, or a real person. Perhaps the last supposition is most probable.' My view was, and is, that Manes Ourammos was one of the last chiefs of this part of Pisidia, before it fell under the domination of the Romans, and that his descendants boast of their descent, just as in another Phrygian family their inscriptions record that they are descendants of kings and tetrarchs.<sup>1</sup> But those who prefer to this explanation the other which I mentioned only to reject, that Manes Ourammos was a heroic mythical ancestor, worshipped by the family, will find in this inscription an argument in favour of M. Perrot's opinion.

M. Perrot holds the monument to have been erected to Midas the King,

<sup>1</sup> *ὅντες ἀπόγονοι Μάνου Οὐραμμόου βασιλέως καὶ τετράρχων ἀπόγονοι* C.I.G. 4633. 4034 &c. I published the inscription of Anaboura in *Middle墩墩* Athen, 1883, p. 71.

It has since been published by Prof. J. R. S. Storratt in his 'Preliminary Report,' p. 14, without observing the previous publication.

by real kings who bore his name. But the inscription says that Ates erected the monument to Midas;<sup>1</sup> none of the persons mentioned on this or the other monuments bear the name Midas except the mythical ancestor. The monuments therefore afford no proof, on M. Perrot's explanation, that there ever was really a Phrygian king named Midas. The only inference which they would permit is that Midas is a heroic ancestor of the type of Heracles or Pelops, worshipped by the Phrygian chiefs in their family religion.

On the other hand I contend that there is traditional evidence of the death of a king Midas, in a great catastrophe widely affecting Asia Minor, now admittedly a historical catastrophe as attested by contemporary epigraphic evidence, though formerly doubted. This event, the Cimmerian invasion, affected the Greeks almost as much as the Phrygians. The coincidence aided the historical memory. The king in question was closely connected by marriage with the Greeks of the coast, and the early references made by the Greeks to his dynasty show that it was considered by them as peculiarly impressive, and so great as to be almost more than human. The coincidence with Greek history, and the striking contrast of greatness and sudden ruin, made the historical tradition accurate and trustworthy in this case.

The facts then are these, as I conceive them. Trustworthy tradition tells us that there was a dynasty of Phrygian kings in the Sangarios valley, some of whom were named Midas. Among a series of monuments in the Sangarios valley, whose character shows that they were made by a people of considerable civilization and wealth, one bears the inscription 'Ates Arkiaevais placed to Midas the King.' This monument, as M. Perrot fully acknowledges by placing it among the sepulchral monuments, has all the external appearance of a grave. Every point in it occurs in other monuments whose sepulchral character is obvious to the eye owing to the violent disclosure of concealed graves. In this and two other cases no grave has been discovered, but that is, as I believe, only because the grave has in these cases been more skilfully or more successfully concealed. The variety in external appearance among the monuments is far from justifying the assumption that the internal arrangement (*i.e.* the situation of the concealed grave) was in every case the same.

The facts as thus stated point to the view that the Midas-Monument is the tomb of one of the historical kings of that name. This view is the simple and natural conclusion from the striking agreement between the traditional and the monumental evidence.

The view stated by M. Perrot loses all the support given by the tradition. He tries in vain to accommodate himself to the tradition by saying that the Phrygian kings bore the name of their mythical ancestor Midas. If they bore the name, why is it that the inscriptions mention several of them by other names, but none by the name Midas? At the best there is a want of agree-

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<sup>1</sup> It deserves note that all the persons mentioned on the monument have a double name, and that the double name is characteristic of Phrygia

in the later inscriptions written in the Greek language—Ates Arkiaevais, Midas Lavaltas the King, Baba Memevais.

ment between the inscription and the tradition according to his theory, and we could only lament that the agreement is not closer. If his theory were the most natural and simple one, we might resign ourselves to the loss of such a historical coincidence. But his theory seems to me decidedly the more artificial and improbable, and therefore I argue so strongly that tradition is exactly confirmed by the monument of Midas.

The theory of M. Perrot would be shown to be less artificial than it seems to me, if he had brought forward examples of the use of cenotaphs in the family religion. Is this a probable style of shrine at which to worship the deified hero of the family, a front like that of a grave, without any altar or any apparent means of worship? He himself, in spite of his explanation, gives the Midas-Monument not among *l'Architecture Religieuse*, but among *l'Architecture Funéraire*. If it be of the character which he maintains, then it strictly belongs to the chapter on religion, and in that case the violence which severs it from every monument that can throw light on it would be apparent.

The very same reasoning that applies to the Midas-Monument would also apply, and is actually applied by M. Perrot, to the monument of Arczastis. But on the latter the inscription shows that Frekyn, son of Akenanolas, erected the monument to his own mother, wife of Akenanolas. Even one who would have admitted a single mythical and eponymous hero may shrink from also admitting a heroine of similar character, mother of the constructor of the monument. A third monument (Perrot, fig. 59), which has the same general character as the Midas-Monument, and which has no grave as yet discovered, wants and always has wanted an inscription, so that we must go on to admit a third commemorative monument,<sup>1</sup> whose author does not think it worth while to mention the name of the legendary ancestor whom he commemorates. A sepulchral monument without an inscription is a natural thing; it is a mark of honour to the dead man. But a commemorative monument without any accompaniment and without any dead person, without any shrine or altar, and with no indication of means of worship, without even the possibility of worship except from a distance, seems an anomaly. M. Perrot himself fully admits the difficulty caused by the want of an inscription. He also practically admits (p. 102) that on his theory one would look for some means or place of worship in connection with these monuments. In the case of the Midas-Monument he finds in a shallow grotto at the left a place for 'receiving the offerings brought to this god and the lamps lighted in his honour.' He ought then to find some analogous arrangements for religious purposes beside the other two monuments, and I am convinced that any person who actually surveys the situation of the monuments (especially that of fig. 58) will appreciate the utter want of anything to suggest religious use. The niches and benches which M. Perrot mentions on p. 105 have not impressed themselves on my memory, and he gives no authority for them. He has not seen them himself, and apparently infers them from the drawings. M. Perrot (p. 105) says: sur

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<sup>1</sup> Monument commémoratif, p. 102.

les blocks de rochers qui servent comme de soubassement à la surface travaillé. Mr. Hogarth's memory agrees with mine.

It is true that beside the 'Niobe' at Magnesia, which, like most other recent visitors, I have always maintained to be a cultus-statue of the goddess Cybele, there is the same difficulty of getting close to the image, and the same want of space for assembling to worship near it. But there seems no religious difficulty to prevent more distant worship of the colossal image. In the image there is a deity placed before the eye of the worshipper, but I find nothing to suggest religion in such an ornamental front as these monuments show.

Another argument to prove that the Midas-Monument was a real tomb, was postponed in part I. p. 381. At the left side of the monument is a small three-sided chamber of peculiar shape, with an inscription running round the three sides. It is written from left to right, and begins on the left-hand side. It has been copied several times, and was last published by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1883. According to all the published copies it begins with *as*, after which the end of a word is marked. In 1884, examining the inscription with greater care, I observed that before *a* there were traces of

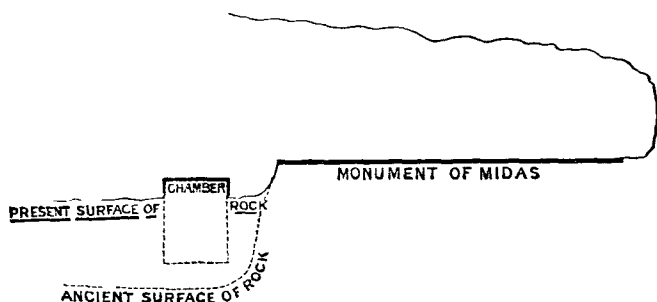


FIG. 16.

another letter, viz. epsilon. The right side of this letter remains, but the middle and the left side have been broken off. Now these letters are about twenty inches in height and four inches in breadth. The remains of the letter are less than an inch broad, and the rest is broken away. Yet the side of the chamber is now sharply at right angles to the surface of the rock. Where then has the rest of the letter stood? Examining more closely, I came confidently to the opinion that the present surface of the rock is the result of recent cleavage, that formerly the rock projected much further forward, and that the chamber was at that time larger than it is at present, and was of course in all probability concealed inside the rock and entered only by a hidden entrance. Exactly the same thing has happened here as happened at the Broken Lion-Tomb. An angle of rock has fallen almost entirely away with perpendicular cleavage,<sup>1</sup> and there remains only the inner end of the chamber. The rest of the chamber was in one or more fragments of the rock which fell away, and which are now either concealed beneath the accumulated

<sup>1</sup> I have on p. 375 mentioned the tendency of this rock to split in vertical surfaces.

soil, or more probably have disintegrated and help to form the accumulation. In the accompanying Fig. 16, drawn not to scale but by eye, I have shown the present ground plan of the monument and the chamber, and have restored in dotted lines the original appearance of the chamber and surrounding rock. The dimensions of the restored chamber are of course quite uncertain and are merely shown to bring the process clearly before the reader. I think it necessary to do this as, though I mentioned this discovery<sup>1</sup> to M. Perrot and thought I had explained it, he in a note p. 102 speaks of '*cette grotte, qui complétée et fermée par des blocs de pierre, aurait été autrefois plus spacieuse.*' He adds the criticism that '*le roc n'a pas gardé la moindre trace qui rende cette conjecture vraisemblable.*' I was not prepared to be so entirely misapprehended. The absurdity of concealing a tomb by building it in an artificial chamber adjoining the rock is patent. My whole point is that the Phrygians were obviously in the habit at an early time of concealing the grave, that in some cases the concealed grave has been found, but that in a few cases the grave has been so well concealed that it has not yet been found. The monuments of Midas and Arezastis are of this class. I believe them to be sepulchral monuments, and propose the theory that the sculptured monument was merely a gigantic stele beside the concealed grave, and that the actual grave of Midas was in the chamber cut in the rock on the left side of the monument. This chamber has now been so much mutilated by the collapse of part of the rock that its original size, form, and arrangement are quite uncertain. The entrance was probably closed by a carefully fitting stone, as is to be presumed from the fact that this method of closing the entrance to a concealed grave was practised in several other Phrygian tombs.

The collapse of the rock and of the supposed grave-chamber deprives us of all opportunity of verifying or disproving the view which is here offered. In 1884 we had an excavation made in the end of the chamber that still remains. About six feet below the present surface of the soil we reached the floor of the chamber. The floor is now rough and irregular (owing to the disintegration to which this stone is liable, especially under the earth), and little evidence could be recovered as to its original arrangement. The present state is not consistent with the view that there was a sepulchral bed at the west end (*i. e.* the remaining end) of the chamber, but may be said almost to favour (or at least not to disprove) the view that there was a sunk grave in the floor of the chamber at this end.

MM. Perrot and Chipiez publish (p. 99, fig. 58) a drawing of the monument, which is represented in my part I. p. 380, fig. 13. The differences are very considerable. M. Perrot says, p. 102, n. 3, '*nous avons contrôlé et rectifié dans quelques détails la planche de Texier au moyen d'une photographie que*

<sup>1</sup> This discovery is no matter of conjecture. I think that any one who examines the rock will come to the conclusion there is no other way of accounting for the loss of the epsilon, except through actual cleavage of the rock. Mere mouldering of the surface does not account for

the loss. I intended to reexamine the place in 1887 along with Mr. Hogarth and get his testimony, but the Circassians, who have recently built a village beside the Midas-Tomb, have constructed a store-room in front of the chamber.

nous a communiquée M. Fougères et du croquis de M. Ramsay.' In spite of the photographic support claimed for this drawing, I claim to be right on all points of difference.<sup>1</sup> In 1886 Mr. Hogarth and I examined the monument very carefully with a large outline sketch in our hands. We observed and noted on the sketch that the left side of the pediment was never completed (just as it is given in this *Journal*). M. Perrot gives it as complete. We observed also that on the right side of the pediment the three ornaments at the foot were never completed; and I have made the same observation in my note-book of 1881, comparing the unfinished window of Aladdin's palace. M. Perrot gives them as uniform with the rest. The end of the inscription runs across the lowest ornaments on the right-hand side. M. Perrot puts it below the ornaments. He has adopted my reading of the inscription, but gives it as arranged by Texier.<sup>2</sup> Texier is wrong: I compared him with the stone, and Hogarth compared my copy with the stone. The ornamentation within the pediment is given by M. Perrot according to my sketch: it cannot be taken from the photograph, because it is to a considerable extent restored, and can be understood only with much difficulty and after very careful examination with a good glass. But one slight difference may be observed between the two illustrations. Small double doors, imitated after wooden doors studded with metal nails and barred, are represented in the pediment. The number of nails in the lower row differs in the two sides of the pediment, six on the left side, four on the right side. M. Perrot gives six in both cases. I noted the difference with special care on the monument. In the ornament along the upper side of the pediment, both Hogarth and I counted twenty lozenges<sup>3</sup> on the left side, but M. Perrot gives only seventeen, and they do not give the central acroterion so accurately as the *Journal* shows it. Sir C. Wilson considers that my representation is not entirely accurate. He says that every curve in the acroterion is part of a true circle, and that the circles, arcs of which form the acroterion, are drawn from three centres, viz. the central points of the three small complete circles. This observation, which I believe to be probably true, but which escaped me when examining the monument, adds greatly to the intelligibility of the acroterion. The acroterion of Perrot, fig. 59, has a similar, but more complicated, character.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I know what almost insurmountable difficulties there are to prevent a good photograph being obtained, on account of the position and surroundings of the monument.

<sup>2</sup> Only three letters extend beyond the ornament in the line below the pediment. Texier made his letters too broad in proportion to their height (all Phrygian letters are tall and thin) and thus makes eight extend beyond the ornament. He could not get the inscription from the photograph, for, as I explain on p. 352, some of the letters are restored. The third, fourth and fifth words are so mutilated that they long baffled all copyists, including myself in 1881 and Sterrett and myself in 1883. In 1884 I

made them out with a good glass, and Hogarth entirely agreed with my copy in 1887. I have restored the letters completely, but there remain only the tops of the ten middle letters.

<sup>3</sup> These lozenges are, I think, true squares whose diagonals are at right angles to the sides of the pediment. This is probably true in all monuments of this class, though the point is difficult to determine on a distant view.

<sup>4</sup> A swallow's nest perched between the two horns of the acroterion is represented and exaggerated in M. Perrot's drawing, and in the sketch by Mr. Blunt, which I showed to M. Perrot and which is attributed to me.

The representation given in fig. 13 approximates to the truth, but does not actually hit it in this respect. It gives, however, the general arrangement of the different elements correctly, while M. Perrot's drawing arranges them quite wrongly, though it gives more truly the concentric impression.<sup>1</sup>

As to the situation of the monument, MM. Perrot and Chipiez are very good in the upper part, but unsuccessful in the lower part. I had intended to devote two plates to this monument, one giving the ornament as restored, the other a side view to show the surroundings, for it is not possible to show the situation of the monument and all the details in one plate. But, as it was found that I was illustrating too lavishly, I had to suppress the second plate. The monument is situated in a sort of niche, so that the plan is this:—

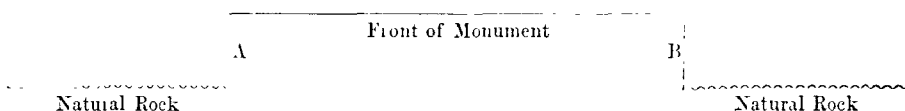


FIG. 17.

A and B are the two rough-hewn sides of the niche. They begin close to the edge of the sculptured surface. Part of the inscription<sup>2</sup> is engraved on side B, but is represented by MM. Perrot and Chipiez on the natural rock outside the niche. The ground beneath the monument is represented in M. Perrot's illustration as much more level than it really is, and the sculpture is really much further away from any possible position of the spectator. Hence it is very difficult to obtain any measurements, as I mentioned on p. 382, and the uncut rock overhead projects so much beyond the plane of the sculpture that measurements cannot be made by dropping a line from above.

The uppermost inscription is given correctly by MM. Perrot and Chipiez. It is engraved on the natural rock above the niche. The upper line however should not be so regularly parallel to the lower line as they give it, but forms a wider curve, much more distant from the lower line at the word *aftaz* than it is at the beginning and end.

The analogy between this monument and the one which is represented by MM. Perrot and Chipiez on p. 103, pl. 59,<sup>3</sup> becomes far more striking when the former is studied in the correct drawing.

The imitation of woodwork, probably, as M. Perrot recognized, covered with bronze and studded with nails or bolts, is strongly marked in these and

<sup>1</sup> M. Perrot and I agree as to the number of squares in the horizontal band of ornament below the inscription. Sir C. Wilson thinks we have one too many, and I think he is right; yet it is hard to believe that M. Perrot, with a photograph before him (which I have not seen), could be wrong on such a point.

<sup>2</sup> The words *aez* and *atanizen*, *kuizanczon* &c. When I suppressed the second drawing which I originally intended to give, I added these words

at the side of the first, thus making it inaccurate; but I wished to give the inscription complete. From the point of view of fig. 13 these symbols at the side cannot be seen.

<sup>3</sup> The 'croquis de M. Ramsay' used to correct Texier is really Mr. Blunt's drawing. Mr. Blunt was successful with this and with the *Midas-Tomb*: he is not represented in the *Journal* by his best work.



in several other Phrygian monuments. This imitation sometimes shows an utter disregard of the nature of the material. In the little doors within the pediment, as shown in fig. 13, p. 380, the bars which hold the *valvae* shut by being passed through holes in two prominent bolts are quite free and separate from the surface of the *valvae*. In the soft friable stone this construction cannot last, and therefore the bars are now very much decayed, and it requires some study to discern the original intention.

The monument shown by M. Perrot on fig. 59 is really more accessible than that on fig. 58. One can get close up to it, and with a little trouble nearly touch the lower part of the ornamentation. He however shows 58 as more accessible than 59.<sup>1</sup> This monument (fig. 59) ought to be shown on my plan, fig. 11, p. 375, between the gates C and E, but has been omitted.

Riding northward along the winding valley, from the Midas-Tomb past the Tomb of Arezastis (Fig. 13), we reach a wider part of the valley where three water-courses meet and flow away to the east.<sup>2</sup> Opposite us towards the left is the Doric-Tomb, published by Perrot, Fig. 91 after Texier, and about 150 yards towards the N.N.E. from it is another tomb, on the front of which is the relief represented in Fig. 18. This relief is on the eastern face of an isolated rock, about twenty-five feet in height. In the upper part of the rock is a sepulchral chamber, with a small door looking eastwards at the top of a vertical face of rock which is cut sharp down nearly to the ground. The character of this sepulchre is therefore exactly that of the one at Yapuldak, which was published in this *Journal*, 1882, Pl. XXVIII. (Perrot, Fig. 75), and which will be further described in the course of this paper (Fig. 27). In both cases I think that the sepulchre was constructed by working from the small door. As this door is now high up in a vertical face of rock, it must either have been reached by a scaffolding, or else the rock has been cut down vertically after the sepulchre was hollowed out. The workman made the door, and then gradually cut the chamber out of the rock. On the outside they carved a relief beside or below the door, and this completes the monument. In later time the sepulchral chamber in each monument has been broken into from behind, and traces of Christian handiwork and graffiti are found in both. The resemblance of this monument to that of Yapuldak leaves no doubt that they belong to the same period.

This method of constructing a grave was very common in Phrygia at an early period, and I have seen numerous examples of it in other parts of Asia Minor. There are many tombs of the same kind, except that they have no sculpture on the outside, beside the Lion-Tombs; and the sepulchral chambers of the latter must have been made in this way. It is rarer around the Midas city, and we may conclude that it is the older Phrygian style. After the grave was finished, and the scaffolding removed, the chamber was inaccessible except by a ladder, or by a rope hung from the top of the rock. This at first was

<sup>1</sup> These points are of course of no practical importance, as they do not affect the ornamentation. I merely mention them for the sake of completeness.

<sup>2</sup> See the map, which M. Perrot has given fig. 47. The monument which is here given as fig. 18 is near the one which is there numbered 3.

apparently deemed sufficient protection, but afterwards the custom of concealing the sepulchre behind or near the sculptured front came into vogue.

The sculpture shown in Fig. 18 is very much worn, and was originally in very low relief. A channel has been formed by the rain from above through

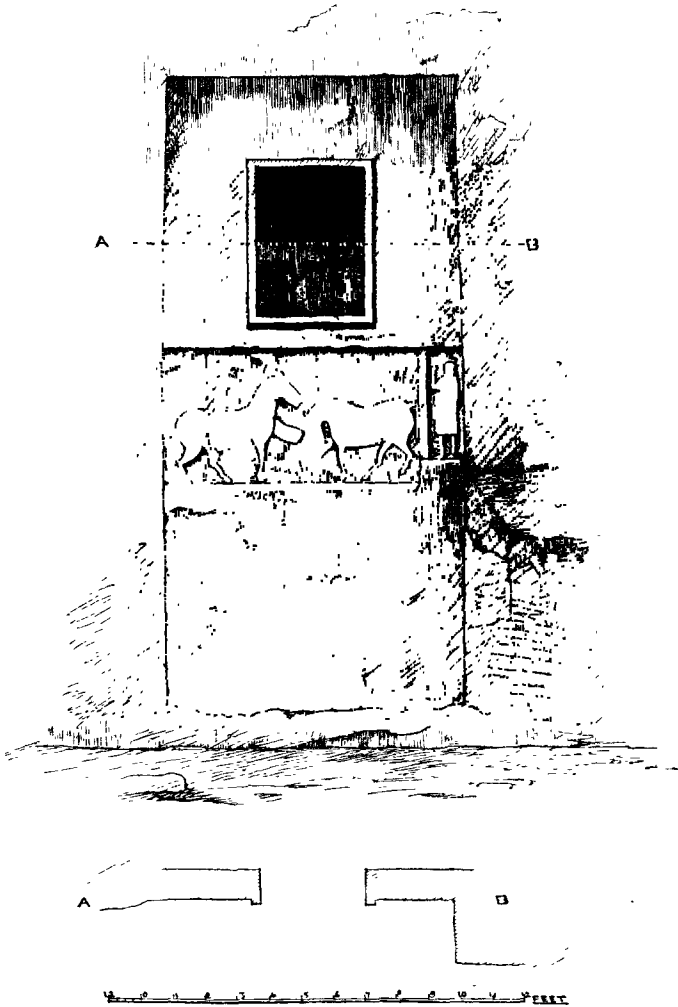


FIG. 18.

the middle of the horse on the left, and the surface is overgrown with a hard species of moss, so that the outline is hardly distinguishable. After repeated examination I made the accompanying drawing,<sup>3</sup> which represents as well as

<sup>3</sup> Redrawn as usual, without the slightest alteration in character, by Mr. McCann.

I can the subject. The subject seems to be a fight between two horses. Between their heads are unintelligible traces, which now seem like mere raised lines. At first I took the animal on the right for a bull and understood the raised lines to be his horns; but the position of the lines is not suitable, and I came to the final conclusion that both animals are horses. In a small panel to the right there is carved a human figure, represented with the same shapeless features, the same curve of the back, and the same dress and attitude, as several of the figures of the dromos, about whose antiquity M. Perrot is sceptical, and to which I shall allude again in a subsequent paragraph.

On the plan of the Midas-city (Fig. 11) there is marked at the extreme eastern point a 'Relief M' <sup>1</sup>. The very rude figures on the outside of this monument (Fig. 19) should be compared with the similar figures on the ram, drawn by Mr. Blunt, Pl. XX. They show helpless incapacity to render either

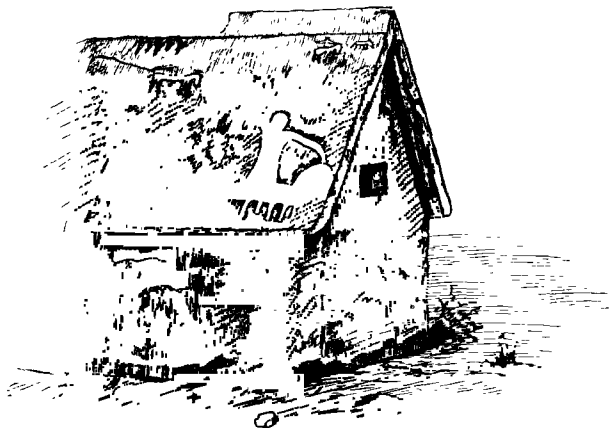


FIG. 19.

human or animal form. The tomb on the outside of which they are engraved is of the same general type, as that at Bakshish (Perrot, Figs. 61—3), about which I intend to speak at greater length elsewhere when I have the opportunity of publishing a better representation. It projects from the rocky plateau, being cut so that it is engaged at the back but free on all other sides. The monument is more lofty and narrow than Fig. 19 would suggest. The photographs of it failed.

Another point on which I regret to differ in opinion from M. Perrot is in regard to the age of the sculptures along the dromos at Gate D. In the plan of the Midas-city, Fig. 11, a long dromos is shown approaching this gate. The dromos is flanked on each side by fortifications,<sup>2</sup> and its character shows

<sup>1</sup> The words 'Tomb with relief of hunt' refer to the same monument, and I wished them to be erased from the proof of the map.

<sup>2</sup> In the large drawing from which Fig. 11 is reduced, the various remains of fortification were shown in different colours. One who

decided analogy to the dromos which leads up to the Lion-Gate at Mycenae. The plan of the entrance is given on a larger scale in Fig. 12.<sup>1</sup>

Two approaches probably led to this dromos up the steep slope beneath the rocky plateau. One of these approaches is nearly in the line of the dromos, keeping close below the city wall for some considerable distance. The other winds up to join the first at the lower end of the dromos. The sculptures in dispute are carved along the rock beneath the city wall flanking the dromos on the right hand as one approaches the gate: they are at the points marked D, C, B, A, on the large plan (Fig. 12). They are described in my *Studies in Asia Minor*, pp. 6 to 8. The sketches there published were drawn in 1881 by Mrs. Ramsay, who had not intended them for publication and made no measurements, but they give the general character of the figures quite correctly. These figures I consider to be really ancient, while M. Perrot considers them to be late. But as it has been necessary to defer the publication of the illustrations to support my view, I shall here say only that I adhere to my view as to the date of the sculptures.<sup>2</sup>

Within the city there remain several altars more or less dilapidated: their shape can be gathered better from the drawings, Figs. 20 to 24, than from any description. Each of these altars seems to have been intended for the worship of an object, which is perhaps a holy stone (*βαίτυλος*). In two cases these holy stones remain (Figs. 20, 23): in the others they have been broken away, leaving clear traces in the rock. In the illustrations the holy stones are restored on the analogy of the two preserved stones. The general form of the altars is always the same: a flight of steps leads up to the *βαίτυλος*, allowing priests or worshippers to ascend and pour oil or other gifts on the sacred emblem. In one case (Fig. 23) the *βαίτυλος* has on it slight sculptural ornament, doubtless of an apotropaic character. Where the *βαίτυλοι* are broken, the destruction was perhaps intentional, and it is not improbable that there were symbols on them which led to their destruction as emblems of devil-worship by the Christians.

Beside one of these altars there is a curious little relief representing Cybele facing, seated, holding a patera in each hand. The altar and relief are published in the *Journal*, 1882, p. 42, Fig. 9. They stand close to the line of the city wall, near the monument shown above Fig. 19: but they are inside the wall, while Fig. 19 is outside. The small steps in the front of the illustration are badly done, they really are marks of the beds in which the stones of the parapet were laid.<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable that the altar should

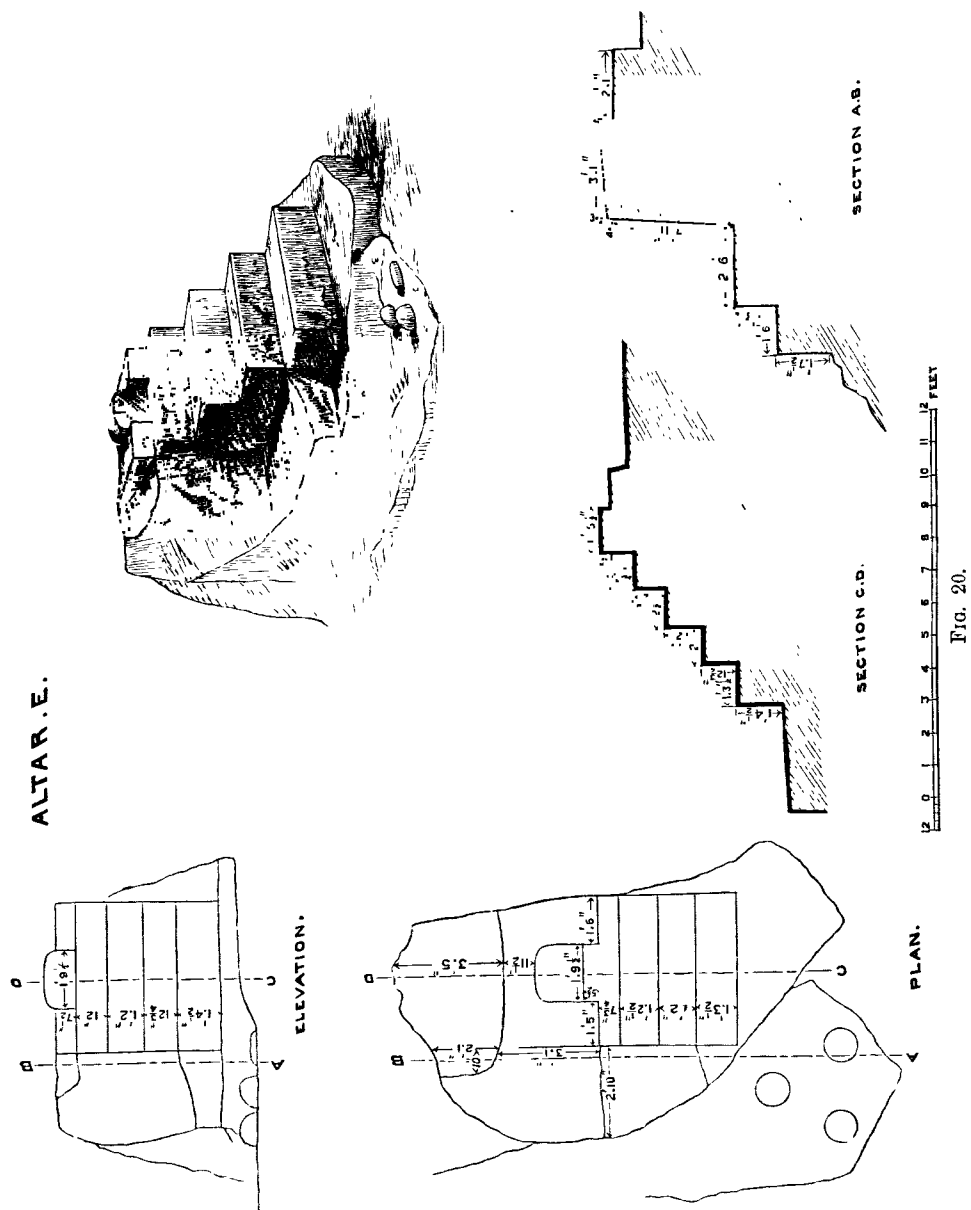
wishes to understand the arrangement of the fortifications must colour the remains in Fig. 11 in order to see them readily. The plan has been so much reduced in scale that it has lost all clearness.

<sup>1</sup> The word OUTWORK is by mistake printed a little too high in Fig. 12. It is placed almost outside of the probable line of fortification and on the dromos.

<sup>2</sup> The illustrations have now appeared in the

*Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 170ff. My reasons for holding these reliefs to be ancient, are (1) they are in all probability made along with the dromos, (2) the curve of the back, which seems of late style to M. Perrot, appears in figures which are unmistakably ancient (see above, Fig. 18, and *Mattheid*, Fig. 4).

<sup>3</sup> A step too many is represented in front of the altar in the illustration. The drawing from which it was taken was done by Mrs. Ramsay



be so close to the wall. It is indicated on the plan, Fig. 12, close to the more southerly of the two 'probable gates' at the eastern extremity of the city.

The altar shown in Fig. 20 lies S.W. from the preceding, and is marked on the plan (Fig. 11) as altar E. It is still quite complete, and the details given in Fig. 20 show its nature much better than any mere verbal description would do. It also is close to the wall of the city. In front of this altar, on the left side, are three circular prominences of rock, which were left when the rest of the altar and surroundings was cut out of the rock. They are now so broken that their original height and shape are uncertain.

Altar D stands close to the chief gate (the only entrance practicable for vehicles) of the city, at the inner end of the dromos. Its position on the right as one entered was no doubt intended to give a favourable omen, and it is like the preceding two altars, closely connected with the city wall. When the dromos was cut out of the rock, the altar was left projecting from the scarped rock-wall. It cannot therefore have been made as an after-thought; it is part of the original plan of this entrance to the city. All the details of this altar and the reliefs which accompany it are given in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 170 ff., taf. vi. and figs. 4, 5. In front of the altar on the left are three circular holes, apparently intended to hold three cylinders which should project and give a grip for some purpose. They may be compared to the three circular prominences in a similar position beside altar E, Fig. 20. This altar faces nearly due S.E. ( $138^\circ$ ).

To explain the position of the next altar, it is necessary to describe the approaches to the gate beside D.

In Fig. 12 the traces that remain of the fortified outwork flanking the dromos on the right as one descends are indicated. It must be remembered in studying this plan that the road, which at the gate is on the level of the plateau, slopes downwards. As one descends from the gate along the road, the rock-wall overhanging one's left hand becomes higher, while the fortified outwork on the right must have been almost wholly built artificially. About fifty yards from the gate the dromos forks: one branch turns sharply to the right, and the other goes straight on. Advancing along the winding road we have still on our right hand the outwork, which rises above us higher as we descend. At one point there are distinct remains of steps leading up into the outwork; these steps are probably beds intended to receive the stones of the outwork. This extremity of the outwork was of irregular form, a trapezoid approximating to a triangle. Not far from the steps there is an inscription engraved on a perpendicular face of rock, which formed part of the outer wall of the outwork.<sup>1</sup> Above the inscription are traces of the beds for holding the squared stones of the fortified wall.

in 1881, merely to assist her memory without any thought of publication. The task of preparing drawings for publication belonged to Mr. Blunt, who however had in truth not time enough to do him-self justice.

<sup>1</sup> This inscription differs only in one word and two letters from the one on the right side of the Midas-Tomb. I advance a suggestion about its interpretation at the end of this paper.



On the other side of the postern gate the wall of the outwork, a vertical face of rock ten to twelve feet in height, continues towards the south-west. Projecting from this rock is an altar of peculiar shape, represented in the accompanying Fig. 21.<sup>1</sup> On account of its shape, M. Perrot, p. 149, remarks on the resemblance to a Christian altar, but the pagan origin is made practically certain by the situation and by the inscription, now mutilated, on the rock over it. The connection of the inscription with the altar seems sure. Only the lower parts of a few letters remain at the beginning of the inscription. I have published them in the *Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia*, part iii., no. 4, and give here the transcript in Roman character: *alasimanukio*. The inscriptions always mark the separation of words; and as no punctuation occurs here, we must have one single long incomplete word. The inscription, which runs from left to right, continued for an unknown extent, but probably not far beyond the outer line of the altar-steps.

M. Perrot's idea that the altar might be Christian is probably partly true: I mean that the altar was perhaps adapted from a pagan to a Christian purpose. There may have been some pagan symbol, which was eliminated by making the little niche at the top—*une niche qui a pu recevoir une lampe ou une statuette: on dirait l'autel d'une chapelle chrétien*. All the other altars show some symbol or object that could be adored and anointed.

The altars hitherto described are all placed in close and obviously intentional connection with the wall of the city; they are probably intended to ward off evil fate from the defences. Several other representations, also, of apotropaic character, occur round the walls.<sup>2</sup> Of the other altars, F (Fig. 22), B (Fig. 24), and C (which is so much broken that its original form is doubtful), are in close connection with a large mansion or palace, if I may dignify with such a name the scanty traces described in the first part of this paper, p. 377. These altars probably had a similar apotropaic character. The remaining altar, A, Fig. 23, stands in a perfectly clear open space; in this *Journal*, 1882, p. 14, I have stated the opinion that it is an apotropaion, and see no reason to change. The drawings will it is hoped give a sufficiently accurate idea of these quaint monuments. Altars A and F face 111°, D 138°. On the upper surface of F there are two rectangular holes, which seem to have been cut to receive the feet of some sacred object (or statue).

The inscription on altar A is the most difficult of all the Phrygian inscriptions to read. By some accident the text is given in Fig. 23 with a slight fault: it should read 'mogro: fanak.' The inscription was apparently not continued on the broken right side of the altar, for, if it had been, there must have been traces on the part which remains. The letters are much

<sup>1</sup> I may here once for all acknowledge the skill with which Mr. McCann has from my measurements reproduced the form of these altars in perspective. To make drawings of objects which he had never seen was a very difficult task, and has been performed very skilfully.

<sup>2</sup> If my theory that the Midas monument is

a grave is untrue, I see no other possibility except to ascribe a similar character to it, to Perrot's Fig. 59, and to the monument given in my *Historical Relations*, Plate III, Fig. 10. These are all carved under the city walls. As I have stated above, M. Perrot's theory that they are commemorative cenotaphs suits none of the facts.



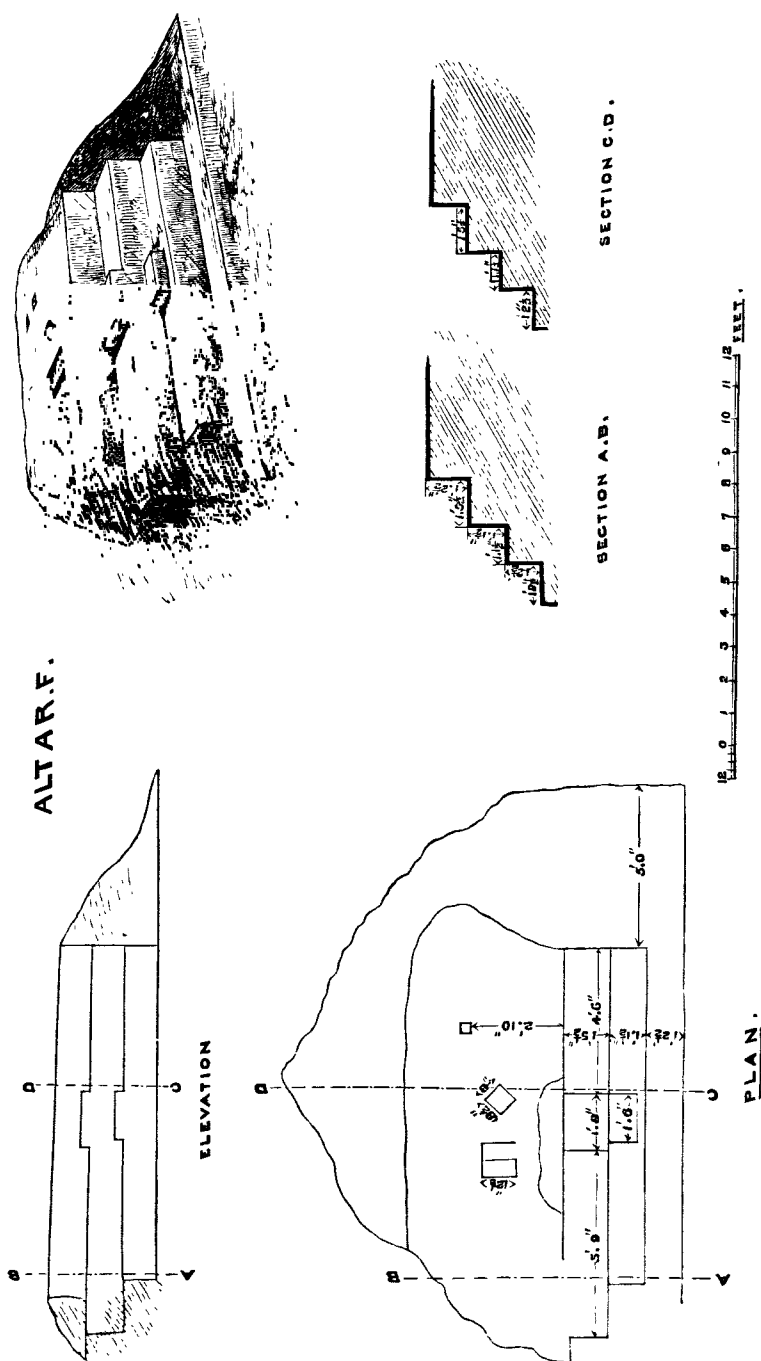


Fig. 22.

ALTAR, A.

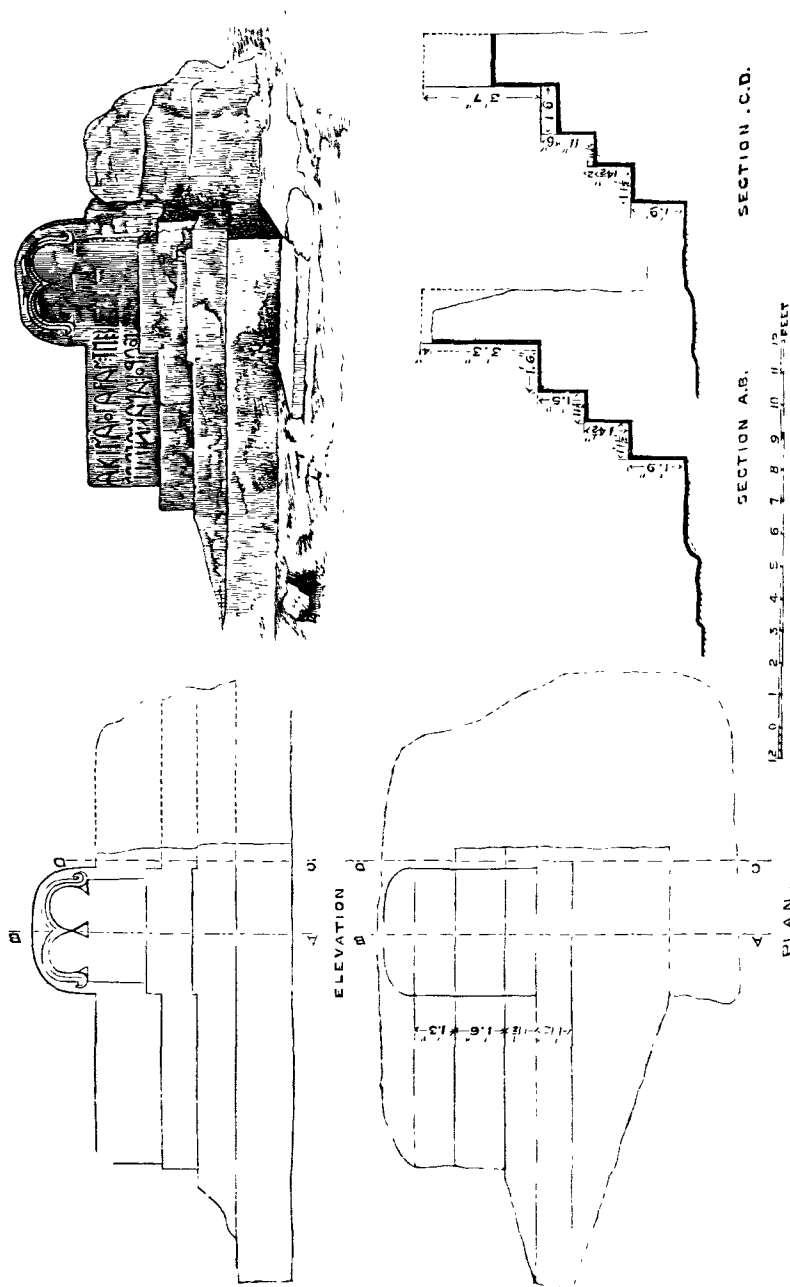


FIG. 23.

worn, and I cannot therefore guarantee the absolute accuracy of my copy, in several letters of which I have been forced to alter my first opinion.<sup>1</sup> The accusative 'akinanolafan' is an important form in comparison with the genitive 'akenanolafos.' I regard 'fanak' as accusative for 'fanaktan,' like 'bonok' on the tomb of Arezastis.

Altar B, Fig. 24, which is much broken, is given in plan to show the single circular prominence of rock, similar to the three shown in Fig. 20.

A tomb with a façade of the Doric order, which is near Fig. 18, has been mentioned above. M. Perrot gives a representation of it as Fig. 91, after Texier. I recognised in 1881 that this monument furnished a good test for the date of the late Phrygian tombs, and had the hope that a careful and accurate representation of the details might enable students of Greek architecture to determine the age to which it belonged. That it is influenced by Greek architecture is of course obvious to every one; but we should be glad to have some certainty whether it belongs to the fourth century before

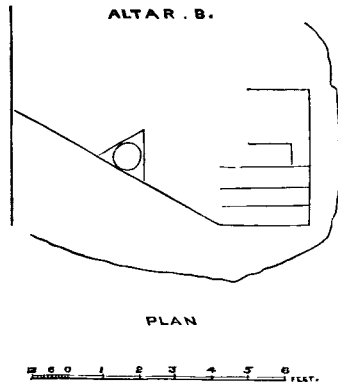


FIG. 24.

or the third century after our era. Mr. Blunt made notes and copies of Texier's drawing before we started from Smyrna in October, 1881, in order to compare them with the original monument. His opinion after making the comparison was that Texier's drawing was so inaccurate that new illustrations were necessary, but he has not given over to the Society any drawing of his own. Probably he found that his own notes made on the spot were not complete enough; and when we consider the circumstances in which he was placed, I cannot wonder if he omitted some necessary details. It was late in the afternoon of a bitterly cold November day when we came to the monument. I was nearly frozen while waiting for more than an hour with him to help in his measurements, and his sketches and notes of the points in which he considered Texier unsatisfactory were therefore made under great difficulties.

<sup>1</sup> Stewart's copy is barely recognisable as the same inscription, though in general his copies of the Phrygian inscriptions are better than those of Texier, Meratmann, or even Leake.

We had afterwards to ride two hours in the darkness over a rough forest track back to camp, and the following morning we left the district, so that another visit to the monument was out of our power. Anxious as I was to get a trustworthy representation of this monument, I can only regret that circumstances frustrated our intentions.

M. Perrot considers that, according to Texier's drawing, the Doric-Tomb is of the 'Roman Doric' (p. 138). I should be glad if it could be placed about 300 B.C., but I have no right to offer an opinion about a question of architecture. My recollection, however, is that the monument has a more massive character than Texier represents, and that the slenderness of the proportions, which betrays to M. Perrot's taste the late, so-called 'Roman,' Doric, is partly due to Texier's brilliant imagination.

The reasons given below in connection with Figs. 28—33 make me prefer M. Perrot's first alternative '*pas antérieur au temps des Séleucides*,' and make me averse to dating any Phrygian monument between B.C. 260 and A.D. 200.

Another tomb, which so far as can be judged from the ruins, was similar in style and very nearly of the same dimensions as the preceding, is carved in an isolated mass of rocks close to the Tomb of Midas on the north side. Of this tomb, only the front of the sepulchral chamber and part of the ceiling of the portico now remain; the rest has fallen, and of the ruins the soft stone has crumbled and disappeared. But so recently as the year 1800, this monument was almost perfect, and Leake describes it as follows. 'Close by [the Tomb of Midas] is a very large sepulchral chamber with a portico, of two columns . . . . The columns have a plain plinth at the top, and are surmounted by a row of dentils along the architrave. They are of a tapering form, which together with the general proportions of the work, give it an appearance of the Doric order, although, in fact, it contains none of the distinctive attributes of that order. It is an exact resemblance of the ordinary cottages of the peasants, having a portico supported by two posts made broader at either end. The sepulchral chambers differ only in having their parts more accurately finished: the dentils correspond to the ends of the beams supporting the flat roof of the cottage' (pp. 34—5). The details which remain convince me that this tomb is not far removed in date from the period of the Doric Tomb; but as the columns are not Doric, it shows an earlier stage of Phrygian art, and Leake's opinion is probably correct that the elements of the architecture are all of native non-Greek origin. When Doric columns were substituted for the plain native supports of the portico, the general proportions of the native portico were retained, so that even if Texier's slender proportions are accurate, M. Perrot's inference that the monument was imitated from 'Roman Doric' would not be necessary.

About five miles west of the Midas-Tomb (Yazili Kaya) is the large village of Kumbet, planted on a rocky hill in the middle of a level plain. The hill is of an elongated shape, and rises highest at the northern end, where the rocks either are scarped or fall naturally in precipices to the plain. A good view of Kumbet is given by M. Perrot, Fig. 45. There are traces which

make it probable that the whole hill was once fortified in the same way as the Midas-city, viz. by scarped precipitous faces of rock, supplemented by artificial walls; but the modern houses make it impossible to follow out these scanty traces completely. The only interesting remains now visible on the rock are at the northern end. The rocks here have been cut so as to form a mansion or palace of considerable size, the ground plan and some details of which are shown in Fig. 25. The lower part of the walls was hewn out of the native rock, and the upper part was built of squared stones which fitted into beds cut in the rock. In some places the rock walls remain eight to ten feet in height, while in other places the building began close to the ground.

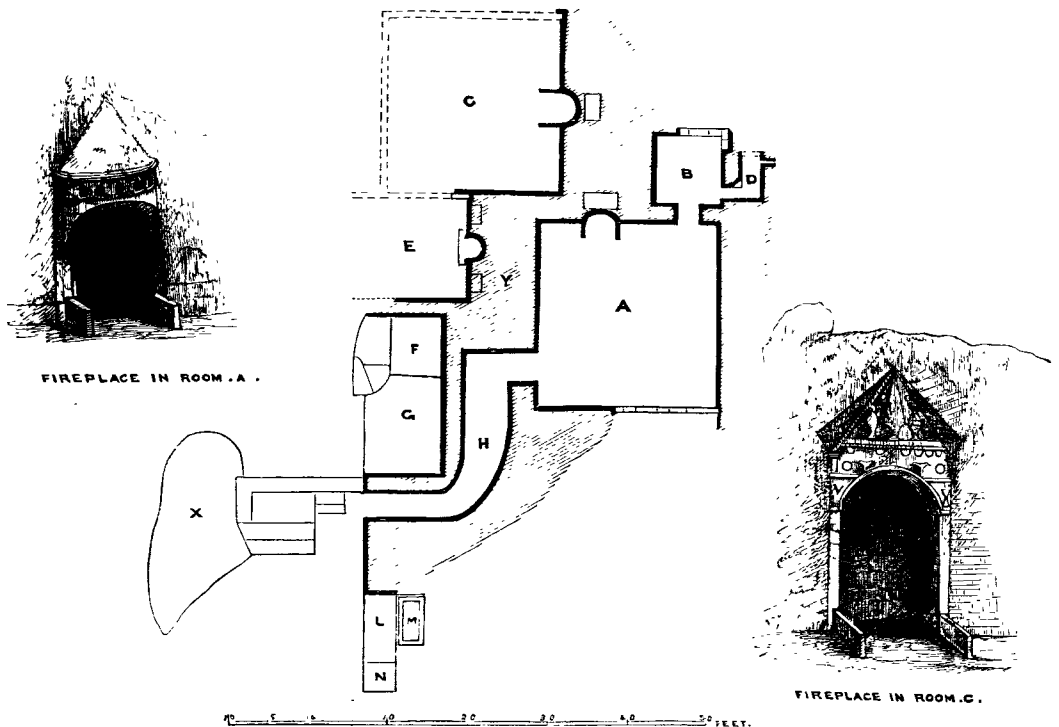


FIG. 25.

One enters by a flight of low broad steps cut in the rock into a space, the disposition of which is obscure, but which apparently contained several parts. On the right F, G, are above the level of this entrance or vestibule. Through this space we reach a chamber, E, which has apparently been turned into a chapel in Christian times: the eastern end has the appearance of a Greek church. Beyond this is a large chamber, C, with a fire-place and wide chimney in the eastern wall. The rock rises so high here that in M. Perrot's Fig. 45 it stands forth like an altar. The floor of these two chambers is covered several feet deep with earth. We employed several workmen in

1887 for a day to run trenches across them and show the ground plan. In this way we recovered the exact form of the fire-places shown in Fig. 25. The northern limit of the chamber, C, is given both by the end of the rock and by the recess cut in the east wall of rock to receive the stones of the north wall. The east wall and half of the south wall were of rock for part of their height, but the other walls must have been built from the floor upwards. We did not succeed in running a trench far enough to discover the line of the west wall, but I have indicated it conjecturally on the plan. The ornamentation over the fire-place is so commonplace and vulgar that I cannot accept it as ancient. Now the natives say that the house was inhabited until this century by a native Agha, and a few traces of walls built in miserable Turkish style remain to confirm their evidence. This ornament may be attributed to the modern inhabitants, but the fire-place must be ancient, both because the lower part projects into the chamber, and because the great cutting of the chimney cannot be attributed to Turkish hands.<sup>1</sup>

Going back to the entrance we observe that the lower steps do not extend so far to the east as the upper step, and two small steps lead down towards a narrow passage cut in the rock. The passage, H, winds along, growing rather wider as we advance, between walls of rock about eight feet high, till we emerge into a large, nearly square chamber, A, with a fire-place in the north wall. Part of the south wall must have been built from the floor, the rest of the walls was cut out of the rock. In the north wall of the chamber there is a doorway, which admits into a small inner chamber, B, part of the north wall of which was built from the floor upwards. A narrow door in the east wall admits into a third still smaller chamber, D. A hurried excavation which I made in this chamber showed a small runlet cut through the wall of rock, and in the only place where we reached the floor we found an apparent paving of a different kind of stone. I therefore considered this to be a bath-room with a runlet to carry off the water. The reader will remember that the outer limit marked on the plan, Fig. 25, towards east and north is the edge of a precipice about 100 feet high.

It is clear that in this Phrygian mansion the public apartments are separate from the Gynaikonitis. We enter the harem through the winding passage, and reach first the large women's sitting-room, then the little bed-room, and finally the bath-room.<sup>2</sup> The arrangements, while showing that seclusion of women was practised, also suggest by their small scale that monogamy was the Phrygian custom.

The fire-place in A must be wholly ancient, for the upper part projects in a semicircular form from the wall of the chamber. It may however have been tampered with in recent times, and especially the roughly cut holes

<sup>1</sup> Fire-places of the very same type are in use at the present day.

<sup>2</sup> M. Perrot, on p. 77, attributes to me an opinion, which I never for a moment held, that these rooms were bed-room, dressing-room, and bath-room. A sitting-room is a necessary part

of a harem, and a large chamber with a fire-place can never have been used for a bed-room. He also, on p. 76, makes the larger northern room of the *ἀνδραναίτις* a Christian chapel: it is the smaller middle chamber that has been used for that purpose.

which form a zone of ornament in the upper part, seem to be modern. On the other hand the upper part of the fire-place in C is indicated by incised lines or low relief on the rock-wall; and great part of the ornament may be, and probably is, modern.

On the outside of this house, as we approach the stairs, there is a high rock on the right hand, containing a grave, M, and a lower bench, L, in front of it. The grave is deep, and was originally covered by a lid, the marks of which remain.

A few yards south of the house is an important monument which has been carefully studied and illustrated by M. Perrot, first in his *Exploration Archéologique*, and afterwards in his *Histoire de l'Art*, v. pp. 128 ff. Prof. G. Hirschfeld<sup>1</sup> has rightly denounced a tendency which I think both M. Perrot and myself had indulged over much, viz. to attribute to Greek influence everything in these later monuments that had a resemblance to Greek architecture. The whole question is one of degree. It is certain that there is clear evidence of Greek influence in Phrygia, but it is equally certain that the Phrygian art developed independently of Greek and mainly under influence from the East. Even in the earliest period the alphabet is Greek; I do not think there is any need to give reasons to prove the so evident fact that Phrygia borrowed the Greek alphabet, and not Greece the Phrygian. Before the Cimmerian invasion, there is probably no trace of Greek influence on Phrygian art; any analogies are rather to be explained by Phrygian influence on Greece. In the time of the Phrygian vassal-chiefs first under Lydian, then under Persian rule, the question becomes more difficult. How early did Greek influence penetrate into Phrygia? Had it no power in Phrygia until Alexander established Greek rule there, or had the subtly expansive civilisation of Greece diffused itself even earlier and established in the way of trade a certain inclination towards Greek deliverers from Persian rule, which perhaps facilitated the conquest of Alexander? An answer cannot be given until, as I suggested to the Society in the summer of 1881, a draughtsman with good architectural training is sent out to make a proper study of the later monuments. Such an expedition would cost far more than my humble journeys do, but unless an expedition is properly equipped, it cannot make the accurate observations which are necessary to settle this question.<sup>2</sup> The preceding paragraphs referring to the Doric Tomb and to Leake's Tomb show what close analogy there may be between two tombs, one of which is unmistakably under Greek influence in respect of the columns, while the other is probably absolutely non-Greek. Again in respect of this tomb at Kumbet and another at Yapuldak (see Figs. 28—33), the analogy

<sup>1</sup> 'Paphlagonische Felsengräber' in *Berl. Abhandl.*, 1885. I am glad to agree with almost everything that Hirschfeld says about the relations between Greek and Phrygian art, though I have been forced to dissent from some of his opinions on Syro-Cappadocian art (see *Athenisch-Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 171 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> The journey of 1884, in which Mr. A. H. Smith co-operated with me till his health failed, was the only one in which I have had anything like proper equipment for accurate work; but the Asia Minor Exploration Fund could not stand another expedition on such a scale.

between them, already noticed by M. Perrot (p. 135), is in one respect even closer than he observes. The gorgoneion which appears on the outside of the Kumbet Tomb, is the chief ornament, repeated in fantastic varieties, within the Yapuldak Tomb.<sup>1</sup> At the first glance I felt clear that the Yapuldak Tomb must be Roman, yet I have since then been constrained to abandon this opinion and to place it as one of the latest monuments before the Gaulish invasion. M. Perrot places these two monuments unhesitatingly as contemporaneous, but he does not take any notice of the interior of the Yapuldak Tomb.<sup>2</sup> It is the interior which produces such an impression of Roman work, but technical considerations leave no doubt that the interior is of the same age as the exterior. The difficulty then is this: the Kumbet tomb is clearly pre-Greek, the Yapuldak exterior has a striking resemblance to it in character and proportions and details, and has little or nothing of the Greek type about it, but the Yapuldak interior with its peculiar type of gorgoneion, which seems late and even Roman, belongs to the same design as the exterior. My own impression is that Persian art has exercised much more influence in Phrygia than Greek art during the fifth century, that the type of tomb which is now under discussion shows Phrygian work under Persian influence, and that the gorgoneion and the Doric column are the first signs of Greek influence.

The plan of the Acropolis at Yapuldak which I give depends on insufficient measurements. I began to make the plan when pressed for time and after two hours' work went off with the intention of returning the next day. Circumstances changed my intention, and on this account I am reduced to give a plan, Fig. 26, of which I can guarantee only that it gives a general idea of the character of the Acropolis. I know that further examination would give the lines of the surrounding wall more fully.

The hill on which the Acropolis is placed is rocky and precipitous on the east side and is approached by a gentle grassy slope on the west side. A number of rocks of elongated plan project above the general level of the acropolis and are utilised in the lines of fortification. F is a mass of rock which on its western side rises about twenty feet above the level of the Acropolis, and 100 above the level of the plain on the eastern side. It has been scarped to some extent on every side, and has been cut to receive a wall which probably ran entirely round it and which rested in part against the rock.<sup>3</sup> In this rock is cut the monument published by Perrot, Fig. 75, after *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 256, and Plate XXVIII. 4.

South of F is another rock, along the outer face of which runs the line of fortification, while part of its inner face has been utilised along with F to form a dwelling-place. An exit from this dwelling passes through a sort of

<sup>1</sup> Stewart represents one gorgoneion clearly, and I felt no hesitation in identifying the ornament as a gorgoneion; but MM. Perrot and Guillaume were not so certain about it. But even M. Perrot admits that a number of smaller gorgoneia exist (Fig. 87).

<sup>2</sup> I showed to him the very same illustrations (drawn in Oxford in 1885), which have been reproduced as Figs. 29-33.

<sup>3</sup> A method of construction similar to that of the 'Wall of Romulus' on the Palatine.



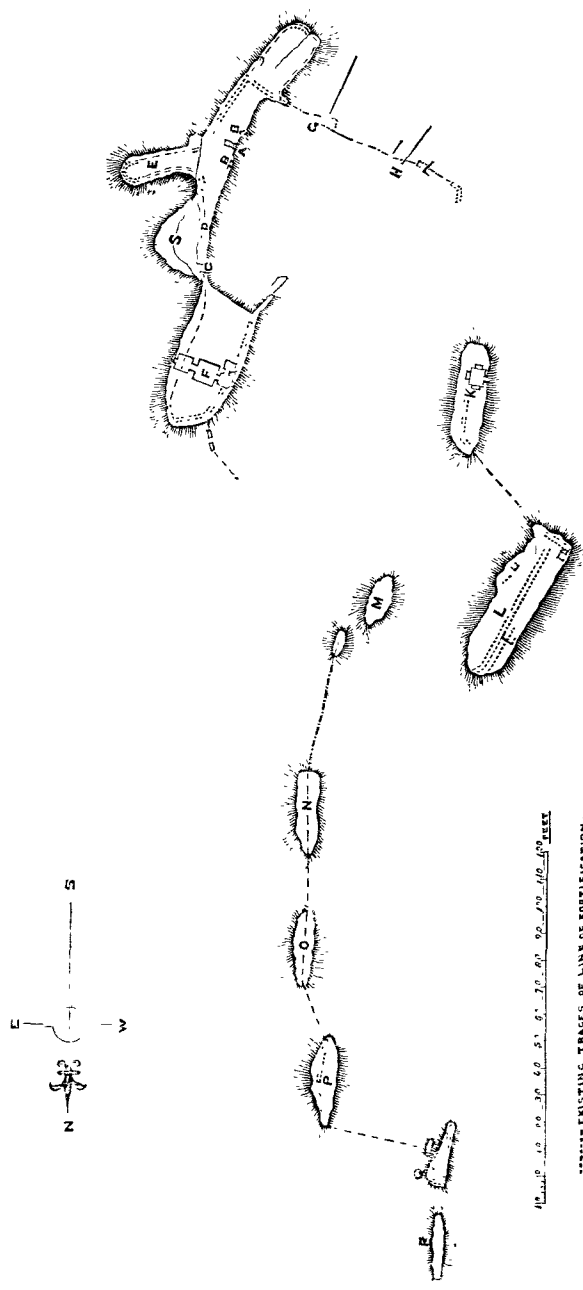


FIG. 26.

doorway, C, on to a platform, S, outside the wall, but high above the plain and absolutely inaccessible from it. BB seem to mark the insertion of blocks of stone belonging to the walls of this dwelling. A is a staircase, which leads down into the rock. It is blocked about twenty steps down: from above one can see no trace of an entrance to the staircase at the bottom of the rock, which suggests the idea that it originally led down to a spring of water within the rock.<sup>1</sup> At G or at H there may have been a gate: the rock is here low and there is much cutting in it. From this point and round the western side the acropolis is accessible.

K is a rock scarped both inside and outside. Several tombs are cut in the outside: one is an *arcosolium*, another is shown in Figs. 28—33. On the

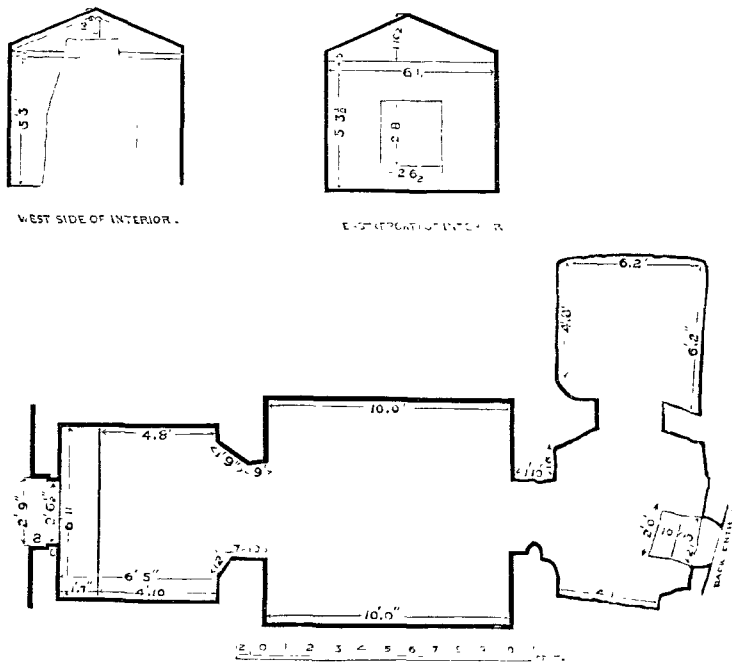


FIG. 27.

top there are cuttings to receive a wall, which rested against the rock on the inside. On L the traces of wall are very numerous, and include beds at different levels, higher inside than outside. Between L and Q the hill projects to the west, but I nowhere observed traces of the wall.

It may be noted that three fortresses of this district, Midas-city, Kumbet, Yapudlak, have a shape elongated from north to south, but this is due to the geological formation. Pishmish Kalesi is of a different shape.

<sup>1</sup> Such a stair and spring may be seen still perfect in the Acropolis of Amasis on the top of a conical rock 1,200 feet above the level of the Iris and its narrow plain. I should have

examined the stair at Yapudlak more thoroughly if I had carried out my intention to return and map the Acropolis completely.

In Fig. 27 some additional details are given on the tomb in the rock F. Its close analogy to Fig. 18 has been already mentioned. The plan shows that it originally consisted of two chambers, which in all probability were entered only by the small door in the carved front which looks out on the precipitous eastern side of the rocky hill (Perrot, Fig. 75). In later time the tomb was violently broken into from the west, and two rude additional chambers were added, and the whole has been so treated as to become a rough Christian church. The two original chambers have a pointed roof of the usual Phrygian style:<sup>1</sup> the pediment of the west wall of the eastern chamber was supported by a slightly indicated column of the Ionic type (Fig. 27). The door between these two chambers has been enlarged in the rudest fashion when the church was formed; part of the pediment being cut away in the process. The pediment of the east wall is quite plain.

The exterior of this monument is shown according to Mr. Blunt's drawings, in the *Journal* 1882, Plate XXVIII. and after him by M. Perrot, Fig. 75. Mr. Blunt's drawing gives the general character quite well, and though it is

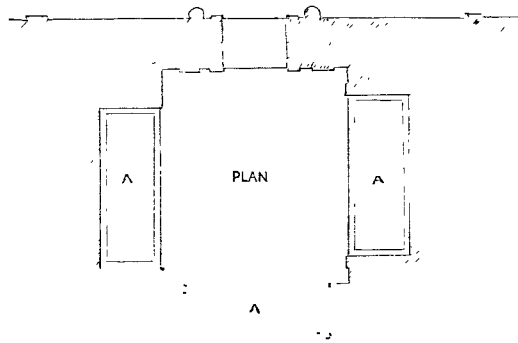


FIG. 28.

I think, incorrect in some details, yet the general fact that the mouldings consist entirely of plane surfaces without any curves is properly shown. This monument and Fig. 18 should probably be dated between the Lion-Tomb, Fig. 10, and the Broken-Tomb, Figs. 1—9.

The last monument which I have to describe is shown in Figs. 28 to 33, which are sufficiently detailed to relieve me from the necessity of making many remarks on its character. The tomb is a small chamber, with arcosolia,<sup>2</sup> A, in the two sides and the back, and ornament of an architectural type round the door both inside and out (Fig. 28).

M. Perrot has noticed the resemblance in proportions between the exterior of this tomb, Fig. 29, and the Kumbet Tomb (p. 135): 'même porte rectangulaire, mêmes proportions du fronton, mêmes modillons et mêmes denticules

<sup>1</sup> The roof of the later chambers is vaulted.

hunched in the Phrygian Necropolis.

<sup>2</sup> Graves of the arcosolium type occur by the

dans la corniche qui en forment les rampants ; même preoccupation d'en orner le sommet et les deux autres angles au moyen de motifs qui, s'ils n'ont pas ici la même élégance, remplissent cependant la même fonction ; même bouclier au milieu du tympan.'

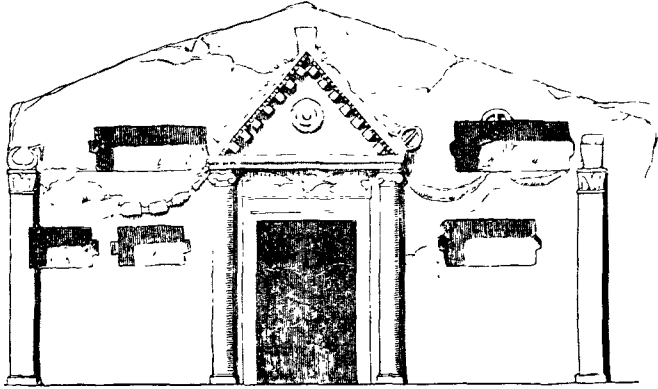


FIG. 29.

The floral pattern over the door is neatly executed in incised lines. The flanking columns are surmounted by objects, differing in shape ; that on the left is obscure, and that on the right is hopelessly defaced. A chain hangs between the two columns on the left, this chain represents a set of large beads

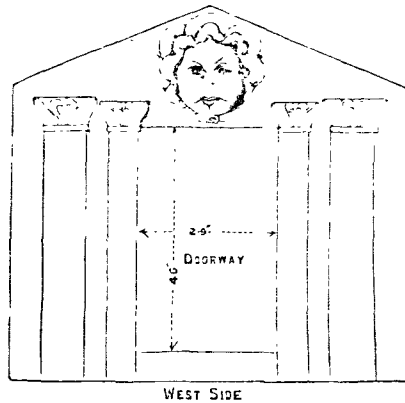
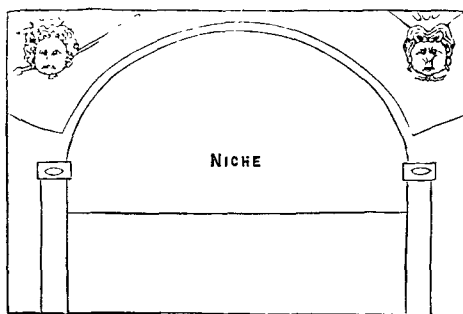


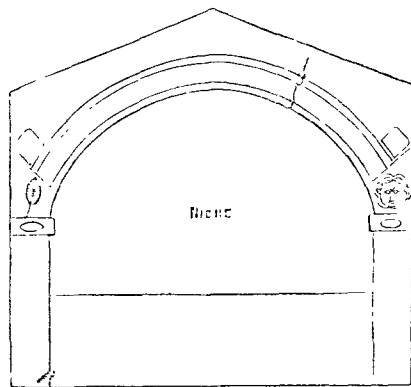
FIG. 30.

of different sizes and shapes strung on a thread, and connected with a ring projecting from the door-column by a metal hook that passes through the ring. The connection with the flanking column was probably the same, but is now decayed.



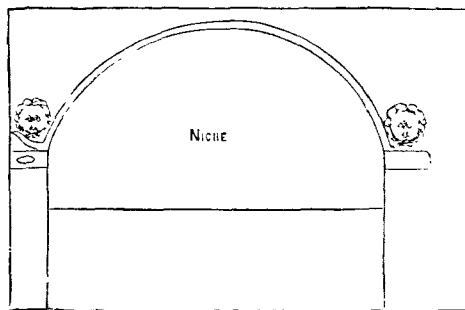
NORTH SIDE

FIG. 31



EAST SIDE

FIG. 32.



SOUTH SIDE

FIG. 33.

Between the two columns on the right there hangs a chain of different shape, resembling two garlands looped up in the middle to an ornament which has been carefully defaced. The front of this tomb has been defaced by a number of rude rectangular holes cut in it in later time. The aspect of the interior, as I have already stated, suggests Roman work; but while I am not able at present to suggest any explanation of its peculiar character, I prefer to date the monument by the exterior sculpture. The wings of the gorgoneia are, according to M. Six, distinctly late, but a date in the first century before or after Christ seems to me to be excluded by historical conditions. Strabo describes in most emphatic terms the desolation of this region (p. 568), and as has been stated above, this desolation is to be attributed to the Galatian conquest. It is clear from Strabo that at the time of Christ the country was very sparsely inhabited, and all archaeological evidence shows that the first dawn of returning civilization in the district belongs to the third century after Christ. I refuse therefore to date any monument of the district between B.C. 260 and A.D. 200, and believe that the gorgoneia of Kumbet and Yapuldak are free Phrygian developments of a Greek type. The gorgoneion on the west interior wall is in very high relief; while those on the east and south are indicated by incised lines.<sup>1</sup>

Before concluding this paper I add a few notes on the Phrygian inscriptions and alphabet. These add some further analogies between Phrygian and Lucian, in addition to those which I have mentioned in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, 1888. I have also to suggest an interpretation of a word on the Midas monument, which if correct would put an end to all controversy about the character of that monument, and at the same time would establish a connection between the Phrygian of 700 B.C., and the inscriptions of the Roman period, which I have discussed in *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, 1887.

The inscription mentioned a few pages back as engraved on the wall of the outwork beside the stairs is written boustrophedon in three lines. I have published in my *Historical Relations*, No. 5, and give here the transcript in English characters:—

B[a]ba Memefais Proitafos  
kwiz[?]anafezos akarabason  
egues

The interest of this inscription lies especially in the fact that it is identical, except in the fifth word, with one of the inscriptions at the Tomb of Midas.<sup>2</sup> The same person, Baba Memefais, son of Proitas, was concerned with both

<sup>1</sup> The gorgoneion in fig. 30 is sculptured in flat relief, so that the features are almost on one plane, and the edges round the face are cut square down to the wall of the chamber. The gorgoneion is represented as looking down into the chamber, the upper part of the head projecting several inches further from the back-

ground than the lower part. This character distinguishes it from Greek work.

<sup>2</sup> Viz., Baba Memefais Proitafos kwizanafezos sikeneman egaes. The engraver of the other text has omitted two letters, a in Baba and z in kwizanafezos. The omission is probably accidental.

monuments. The last word, *ēgaes*, is unmistakably a verb, analogous to *ēdaes* at the end of another inscription. Its precise sense is uncertain, but if *ēdaes* is connected with the root *dha*<sup>1</sup> and means 'placed' or 'erected,' I have advanced the conjecture that *ēgaes* refers more especially to the operation of making or carving. In that case the two accusatives *sikeneman* and *akaralasun* would denote the two things that were made, *sikeneman* the Midas-Monument, and *akaralasun* the fortification, or the road, or the approach as a whole. If this be so, then in the interpretation of the word *sikeneman* lies the key to the character of the Midas-Monument, which is in dispute between M. Perrot and myself.

The interest attaching to the name and the monument of Midas may justify me in advancing an interpretation of the word *sikeneman*. It goes back to a form *skneman*, which appears in Phrygian in two dialectic varieties, *skneman* and *sknuman*. Similar dialectic varieties occur in later Phrygian in the forms *αινιν* and *αινουν*, Sibia and Soublaion, a fortress in southern Phrygia. The difficult combination of consonants at the beginning was avoided in two ways, either by weak vowel sounds developed between the initial consonants giving *sikeneman*, or by dropping the initial letter, giving *knuman*. The dative of the latter word appears in all the Phrygian epitaphs of the Roman period, written in Greek characters, as *κνουμανει*. The interpretation which I have given of these late inscriptions leaves little doubt that *κνουμαν* means 'grave,' and this interpretation constitutes another reason in support of my view about the Midas-Tomb.

I may hazard another conjecture about *kwi:anafezos*. The first part of this compound perhaps corresponds to the Lycian *kbedā* king, and *kbedan* kingly. The Lycian combination *kḃ* is a hardening of *kḡ*, just as according to my explanation is the case with Phrygian *afutos* and Lycian *ābüta*. Another Anatolian word meaning king has been traced by Lagarde and M. Schmidt; this word appears in Phrygian as *βαλήν* or *βαλλήν*, in Lydian (inferred) as *κααλείν*, in Carian as *γέλαν*, and in Lycian as *παλήν* (according to M. Schmidt's accentuation and interpretation). Schmidt remarks that Lydian *ko* stands for *qu*. He arranges the glosses of Hesychius as *κααλδδεῖν ἢ κααλιεῖν* *Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα*, and *Κόαδοι βάρβαρον ἔθνος*: but perhaps the Lycian words (together with *καλοῖς*, *βασιλεύς*) have arisen from two Lydian forms corresponding to the double Lycian and Phrygian forms, one with *λ* and one with *δ*. I need not here do more than refer to Fick's discussion in his *Ehemalige Spracheinheit* and to Schmidt, *Neue Lykische Studien*, p. 130.

In my 'Early Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia' I advanced the conjecture that the Greek alphabet was communicated by the Milesian traders of Sinope to the inhabitants of Pteria and to the people of Phrygia. The connection of Phrygia and Cappadocia with the traders of Sinope is certain, and the communication of the alphabet in this way is paralleled by the history of the Italian and the Celtiberian alphabets. But

<sup>1</sup> Deecke (*Lyk. Studien* p. 318 in *Bezz. Beitr.* vol. xii) also makes *ēdaes* equivalent to *ἐθηκε*.

Fick has shown that the Phrygian glosses prove the aspirates to appear in Phrygian as sonants

an examination of the peculiar symbols in the Phrygian alphabet suggests a different line of communication as perhaps more probable.

One of the peculiar letters occurs in a word which is used in two different inscriptions, and the letter in question is represented by a slightly varying symbol in each case.

(1)

Κϙ Ι Σ Α Μ Α Φ ϙ Σ ::

(2)

:: ξ ϙ ϙ ϙ Α γ Α Ι τ

Coming after *kappa*, this symbol can hardly denote anything except a sound like the English *w*, so that *kappa kappa* together are equivalent to *qw*.<sup>1</sup> ↑ would then be an abbreviated form of Φ, a simple variant of ϙ.

This use of ϙ in Phrygian is to be compared with the Pamphylian of Aspendos, in which φ appears where we expect digamma (φίκατι = twenty). The only similar example known to me is the inscription on the famous vase of Caere,

γ ϙ ϙ ι ο τ ϙ ϙ ο ο μ ο τ ϙ ϙ Α

in which Bolte has already<sup>2</sup> showed that we must probably understand 'Αριστόνοφος as equivalent to 'Αριστόνοφος. The explanation of these facts is to be sought in the trading connection of some Greek city alike with Aspendos, with Caere, and with Phrygia.

Another fact is to be compared with these. At Sillyon, a neighbouring city to Aspendos, we find the symbol **W** used in the sense of the English *w*. In the alphabet of the famous Galassi vase, which was found at Caere, the same symbol **W** appears in the place where *koppa* is to be expected, between *pi* and *rho*. Kirchhoff's treatment of the Galassi alphabet is singularly unsatisfactory. The symbols which do not square with his theory are explained as being symbols retained in the alphabet, but not actually used: they are **W** and **W**. In the preceding paragraph we have seen one remarkable analogy between Pamphylia and a Greek vase found at Caere. Now precisely the two strange symbols of the Galassi alphabet are the two most characteristic symbols of the alphabet of Sillyon, **X** (which Kirchhoff expressly recognises as a modification of **W**) and **W**. The conclusion is clear: we must recognise the Galassi alphabet as being that of a Greek city closely connected by trade alike with Caere and with Pamphylia. That city used the symbol **W** in its alphabet with the sense of English *w*, and the symbol **X** or **W** in its alphabet

<sup>1</sup> I have now unconsciously adopted an interpretation of ϙ which was advanced some years ago by Professor Sayce.

<sup>2</sup> De monumentis ad Odysseam pertinentibus, p. 5. Dummeler's explanation, 'Αρίστων δ Κώ[ω]ς

(see *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.*, 1888, p. 17), seems to me inadmissible. Anything can be made out of an inscription if we may insert letters *ad lib*.



with the sense of *x*. The city which fulfils these conditions is in all probability either Cyme Aiolis or Phocaea, and most probably the former.

The connection of Cyme Aiolis with Pamphylia has been already indicated by Bergk, who traces two Cymaeon colonies on the Pamphylian coast.<sup>1</sup> One of these, Side, is vouched for by Strabo, p. 667; the other is not so well attested, but Bergk's authority shows that I am not straining facts to suit my views. The connection of Cyme with Italy is vouched for by the name, and by the probability of its close relations with the neighbouring Phocaea, the leading city in the Italian trade. Cymaeon vases could go to Caere in Phocaeon ships, even if a direct trade from Cyme to Etruria is not proved. In the third place the one Greek city which is actually recorded to have been in relation with the ancient Phrygian kingdom is Cyme Aiolis.

It is true that Sillyon and one of the Caerite vases use the symbol **Λ** for *w*, while Aspendos, Phrygia and the other Caerite vase use koppa in that sense. But the former vase puts **Λ** where koppa should occur in the alphabet and does not use koppa at all. The alphabet of Aspendos used the koppa in its sense of *w*, and adopted alongside of it the ordinary Greek symbol **ϕ**, and the two symbols are apparently confounded in the late inscriptions, one form being used in both senses. This group of alphabets use a symbol for *w* in addition to digamma: some use koppa, some **Λ**, but none of them employ both symbols.

As to the last three symbols of the Galassi alphabet, **+**, which is used in the Sillyon inscription for *khi*, must therefore be so interpreted, and not with Kirchhoff taken for *xi*; **ϕ** is apparently the second last symbol.<sup>2</sup> The last symbol **Ψ** occurs also in Phrygian, and a very similar symbol **Ψ** occurs at Perga in Pamphylia in the sense of a palatal sibilant. It is not safe to try to fix the value of **Ψ** in the Cymaeon alphabet until the word **λαΨ**et in Phrygian shall have been explained.<sup>3</sup>

These remarks will explain my change of view about the origin of the Phrygian alphabet, and will show that M. Perrot's objection to my derivation from Cyme or Phocaea (p. 9) implies a misapprehension. He says 'la difficulté est que l'alphabet ionien ne paraît pas avoir eu le *F*.' It is true that we have no ancient monuments of either the Cymaeon or the Phocaeon alphabet. But certainly the probability (we might say certainty) is that the former alphabet used the digamma, and Pauli<sup>4</sup> sees no difficulty in the supposition that the Ionic alphabet possessed the digamma in the seventh century.

On this theory the alphabet of Cyme Aiolis was originally almost identical with that which is used in Phrygia in the latter part of the eighth century. It retained koppa, combining it with kappa to indicate *qu* or *kw*.

<sup>1</sup> See Bergk in *Zft. f. Numismatik*, 1884, p. 333. He argues that Aspendos, which is called an Argive colony, was founded by Achaean Argives, who had gone to Cyme. Selge, an Amyclaeon colony, might be explained in a similar way (Dionys. Perieg. 860 and Eustath. *ad loc.*).

<sup>2</sup> The form is rather blurred, but there can be little doubt about it.

<sup>3</sup> It may however be safely asserted that **ψ** in Phrygian is not the Ionic *psi*. Phrygian used **κξ**, not *xi*, and cannot have adopted *psi* before *xi*.

<sup>4</sup> Eine vorgriech. Inschrift aus Lemnos, p. 17.

It had a symbol of doubtful value (probably a sibilant)  $\Psi$ , and also it probably used the  $\boxplus$  and certainly  $\ominus$ , which Phrygian does not require: perhaps it also used the symbol for *khi*. Owing to its situation Cyme early passed under the influence of the Ionic alphabet, adopting *xi*, *phi*, and perhaps also *khi*. The alphabet of Cyme was originally an island alphabet, and an example of its early form remains in the two famous Lemnian inscriptions, whose close analogy with the Phrygian inscriptions is an accepted fact.<sup>1</sup> The only other case in which I have been struck with an analogy to Phrygian is in a well-known inscription of Thera, now in the National Museum at Athens. The letters are cut in a way that closely resembles the Phrygian. They are long, deeply cut letters, and seem to have been cut with a square chisel, which makes a rectangular groove in the stone. The Phrygian letters are all of the same character, tall, narrow, deeply and squarely cut.

The objection, that this theory of the Kymæan alphabet does not agree with Kirchhoff's classification, will readily suggest itself to any reader. I do not regard Kirchhoff's classification as being in agreement with the facts of the seventh century. His classification comes to suit the sixth century much better than the seventh, though it does not suit perfectly even that time. The Greek alphabets strove from diversity towards uniformity. Two powerful types gradually established themselves, and finally one of these replaced the other and became universal.<sup>2</sup>

W. M. RAMSAY.

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<sup>1</sup> The analogy with Phrygian so struck me at the first glance, that I immediately concluded they were in the Phrygian language, till examination showed that they were certainly in a different language.

<sup>2</sup> After this paragraph was in type Professor

Hirschfeld's article in *Reich. Mus.* 1889, p. 461, appeared. He considers, rightly as I think, that the so-called Ionic alphabet is simply the alphabet of Miletos, which gradually was adopted, first by the other Ionic cities, and finally by the whole of Greece.

## THE IMPERIAL GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

FEW English scholars have an exact knowledge of the history, the constitution, and the labours of the German Archaeological Institute, although the existing science of classical archaeology may be roughly said to be a creation of that Institute. So when, some months ago, an authoritative paper by Professor Michaelis of Strassburg, a member of the Central Direction, appeared in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, supplying exactly such information on these matters as should be current among us, the Editors of this Journal thought that the opportunity thus offered was one of which advantage should be taken. Accordingly permission was obtained from Professor Michaelis and the Editors of the *Jahrbücher* to publish in these pages a translation of the article. The translation was undertaken by Miss Alice Gardner; and Professor Michaelis has himself made some additions to the text to fit it more completely for an English audience. [ED]

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Scientific institutions, which take their functions seriously, live a silent life. This is a result of the very nature of scientific work, which in most points of its manifold occupations cannot appeal to a wide public. Only in case of especially important discoveries, or of conspicuous performances, and on festal occasions do such institutions step out of their quiet round of work into public light, and demand the sympathy of wider circles.

Such an occasion arose ten years ago, when the Archaeological Institute at Rome, on the 21st of April 1879, celebrated in the midst of wide sympathy, in its new stately mansion on the Capitol, the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. Delegates from different quarters met on the Tarpeian rock and congratulatory letters were received: among others a sympathetic letter of the Trustees of the British Museum and a very elegant Latin address from Cambridge University. Especially we Germans called to mind with pleasure the share which German scholars had taken in the foundation and progress of the Institute. In all our journals the importance of the occasion was recognised with expressions of goodwill and sympathy. The circumstance that the 'Institute of Archaeological Correspondence' was founded in 1829 in Rome, and that this festival attached especially to this Roman Institute, made it easy to forget, or at least not sufficiently to remember, that meanwhile the Roman Institute had acquired a worthy parallel at Athens, and that both Institutes were in fact branches of a German Archaeological

Institute, the headquarters of which are in Berlin, and a great part of the sphere of its activity in Germany. In fact that very festival contributed not a little to the notion still widely spread, that the work of the Institute is confined to Rome. The German Institute seemed absorbed in the Roman, with which so many travellers, in their winter journeys in Italy, made a more or less hasty acquaintance, of which probably in many cases they first heard at Rome. Thus it is easy to understand how the interest of the public, so far as it concerns itself with such a scientific institution, is accustomed to turn exclusively to the Roman Institute and its occasional utterances.

I will endeavour in the following pages to show that this way of regarding the matter is too narrow, and does not correspond to the facts as regards the Institute. Scholars in general may be glad to acquire a more correct view of the Institute as a whole. In order to make clear in what ways the limits of its activity have been gradually widened, it seems necessary first to give a slight sketch of the history of the Institute.<sup>1</sup>

## I.

The 'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica' was founded in the year 1829 as a private undertaking. The real founder and the soul of the whole was Eduard Gerhard, supported principally by Bunsen and Panofka. The most important archaeological scholars in Germany and Italy shared earnestly in the work. There were joined with them a few colleagues from England, Denmark, and Greece; outside Germany and Italy an important contingent was furnished only by Paris, where archaeological studies flourished, under the presidency of the noble Duc de Luynes, then often called 'le dernier gentilhomme de la France,' who had already given important aid in the preliminary discussions in regard to the foundation of such an international scientific union. This is not the place to detail the friction and disagreements which took place during many years between the French group, led by the Duc de Luynes, and the Germans and Italians, under Gerhard and Bunsen, both parties aiming at taking the leading part in the Institute. At last in 1836 a compromise was made, by which Rome was recognized as centre of the Institute, but greater independence was allowed to the French section, the place of publication alternating between Rome and Paris. So matters remained until the revolution of February. The political storms to which France was exposed in 1848 quenched there for the moment all scientific interests. The Duc de Luynes, a strong supporter of the white banner, alike from family tradition and from personal conviction, gave up all hope of the permanence of the Institute, and on the 12th of May 1848 the French section announced, through its secretary M. De Witte, that with the completion of the last year's volume

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. the author's *Geschichte d. deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1879. Also in Italian: *Storia dell' Istituto Archeologico Germanico*, 1829—1879. Berlin, (etc.), Rome, 1879.)

their share in the labours of the Institute ceased. Thus only the Italians and the Germans remained.

The correspondence, whence the Institute had taken its name, was in these first twenty years of its existence the chief source of activity of the Institute, owing to the difficulty of travelling and the want of scientific journals. Its centre was the Roman Secretariate, which from the first was almost regularly in the hands of German Scholars; Bunsen, Gerhard, Panofka, Kellermann (a Dane), Emil Braun, Lepsius, Wilhelm Abeken, and Henzen form a noble series of names. Besides occasional separate publications the Institute published yearly three volumes. The Monthly Gazette or *Bullettino* gave a current account of new discoveries. The *Monumenti Inediti*, appearing in large folio form, twelve plates a year, gave reproductions of important monuments for the most part unpublished. A volume of *Annali* contained longer or shorter scientific treatises among which discussions of the large plates occupied most space; smaller plates (*Tavole d'aggiunta*) served for supplement or for publication of smaller works of art. The language of these papers was either Italian or French, even the titles of the volumes being bi-lingual; Latin also was allowed. German was forbidden, although German contributors formed a majority, on the obvious ground that the use of that language would have kept away Italian correspondents, on whose zealous support it was necessary to rely for furnishing material. The same languages were used in the weekly sessions of the Institute in winter, the so-called 'adunanze.' The Italians were obliged, German being forbidden, to accept as currency that extraordinary dialect which acquired the name of 'il barbaro dell' Istituto.'

The weakest side of the Institute was the financial. At first the revenue was derived only from the produce of the publications, but the difficulty and irregularity of the bookselling business, caused by the remoteness of Rome and by imperfect postal institutions, made this resource a very unsatisfactory basis for a reasonable finance. It was often necessary to trust to advances made by the secretaries, and the inexhaustible liberality of the Duc de Luynes did much to keep the ship afloat. The Papal Government was not disposed to support the 'Prussian' Institute, and it was a matter for congratulation if no enmity was displayed. On the other hand the Prussian treasury at first felt a difficulty in subsidising a 'foreign' and private undertaking. Only on the accession of Frederick William IV., the protector of the Institute from its beginning, a modest salary was paid by the State to the first secretary, and later to the second also, a grant of about £200 first placing the finances in a tolerable condition. The responsibility of the Institute still continued for all other expenses, no small matter considering the unsatisfactory character of the trade in books at a time of so much political disquiet.

Amid such financial difficulties the Institute, passing after Braun's death (1856) into the judicious hands of Wilhelm Henzen and Heinrich Brunn (the latter being later replaced by Wolfgang Helbig), performed a work of great importance on behalf of archaeology and Latin epigraphy. In addition

to its strictly scientific work it became a sort of academy for training young scholars, particularly from Germany and other northern lands. Rising Italian students also took an eager part in the Institute, which in their opinion was half Italian. French archaeologists rarely stayed at Rome or assisted personally in the work of the Institute which, however, some of them supported by correspondence or contributions; generally they gravitated more and more to the French School of Athens established in 1846. The clearer that the influence of the Institute on German learning grew, especially in supplying the chairs of archaeology in the German Universities, by this time universal the more incumbent it became on the State to give more liberal assistance. This did not, it is true, strike the smaller German states, but it was one of the beneficial actions of the Prince Regent of Prussia to carry out his brother's intention in increasing the grant to the Institute to £875. By that sum, besides the salaries of the secretaries, provision was made for scientific publications, a fixed revenue secured to the library, which had hitherto been almost dependent on charitable contributions, and two travelling scholarships founded for young archaeologists. In a truly liberal spirit it was provided that these students need not be born Prussians so long as they had taken a doctor's degree or passed examinations in Prussia; and in fact most of the secretaries had come from other German states. As a necessary consequence the relations of the Institute to the Direction which sat in Berlin under Gerhard's presidency underwent a change. That Direction ceased to be merely a board of reference for the secretaries, partly scientific and partly administrative, and became, in virtue of the larger grant and the award of scholarships, a Direction responsible to the State. The secretaries were not yet, it is true, functionaries of the State, but their relation to the Central Direction became closer and more definite.

This was but the first step in the passage of the 'Istituto prussiano' into a public institution of the Prussian State. A complete assumption of this relation was brought about by the Central Direction in conjunction with the Secretaries at Rome in 1867, with a view to certain great advantages, such as complete protection of the Institute established in a foreign country from all political aggressions, close relations with the Berlin Academy, and the establishment of the secretaries as state officers with a claim to pension. On July 18, 1870, King William accepted the arrangement, and on March 2, 1871, he signed as Emperor at Versailles the new statute. The change not unnaturally passed without public notice in so momentous a time. More attention was aroused when in 1874, on the motion of the German Reichstag, the Institute, which had always been pan-Germanic in character, ceased to be connected with the Prussian State and became attached to the German Empire. The Central Direction in Berlin was strengthened by the addition of four archaeologists resident in other German universities; four travelling scholarships for classical archaeology and a fifth for students of Christian archaeology, each of £150 per annum, were constituted in the place of the two which existed, and thrown open to all German subjects; a considerable increase in the grant, now

amounting to nearly £5,000, allowed the Institute to plan and carry out on a larger scale its various undertakings.

It is thus evident how slowly and gradually the transformation of the Institute was accomplished. It was not till after it had, by its innate vitality, sustained successfully an anxious struggle of many years, and thereby given full proof of its deserts, that it was able to receive the reward of its faithful labours. But the increase in its funds was by no means to be confined to operations in Rome. At the suggestion of the Central Direction the transformation of the Institute into an Imperial Institution was at once associated with a widening of its sphere by the establishment of a Branch Academy at Athens. At the time of the foundation of the Roman Institute, in 1829, the political state of Greece was not such as to allow of such a project, and it seemed sufficient to use the publications of the Roman Institute as the medium also of making known discoveries in Greece. But when in Greece the state of the country became more settled, when excavations were undertaken which led to great results, when scientific travellers of all nations began, in perpetual succession, to explore the land from end to end,—it became more and more evident what rich treasures were here to be brought to light, and also how inadequate to the task of discovery and of exploitation were either the unaided efforts of the Greeks themselves or the occasional attempts of passing strangers. The right course was marked out by the above-mentioned French school, which had both rendered eminent services to the more exact knowledge of Greek lands and Greek art, and was also serving as an excellent training institute for the younger generation of French archaeologists. Nor could any more opportune moment be chosen for the establishment of a similar institution for Germans than the time at which the German Empire was starting its epoch-making excavations in Olympia. Nor could the tasks which called for the activity, in Greece, of any archaeology ready to wield the shovel as well as the pencil or pen, be regarded as of less importance than those which lay nearest to the Roman Institute, such as the complete exploration of Italy. On the contrary, in proportion to the greater dignity and originality of Greek art as compared with that of Italy, to the greater amount of virgin soil in the Archipelago and the neighbouring lands of ancient Greek population in comparison with the well investigated homes of ancient Italian civilization, was the certainty of the hope that the new work to be undertaken from Athens would yield rich results which might further the progress of science towards the solution of its most important problems. From the archaeologist's point of view, there could be no doubt that the younger academy must rank as at least equal in dignity with the older sister-academy in Rome, though possibly to the general public the latter, being old-established and personally known to many, continued to take precedence, or even to be still regarded as *the* Institute. The works of the Athenian Institute were to be found—with the exception of some separate publications—in the *Mittheilungen* of which there appeared annually a stout octavo volume accompanied by plates. In outward appearance it corresponded generally to the Roman *Annali* except that it

was not accompanied by a folio publication of *Monumenti inediti*, and thus there was no connection between the text and the illustrations of such monuments as were too large to be reproduced in the plates. Monthly reports were also dispensed with. Although in the case of contributions from members of other nations, foreign languages were not excluded, yet even with them the use of German greatly preponderated, since among Greek scholars, in consequence of their studies abroad, the knowledge of German has become so general, that the necessary association with the natives of the country has not been, as formerly in Italy, hindered by linguistic difficulties.

Although the establishment of the Athenian branch implied a remarkable extension of the original Institute—doubled in fact its functions and its sphere of activity—yet the ends and the means of the new Imperial Institute were not confined to these two foreign localities. A third centre for investigations had sprung up in Germany itself. As early as the year 1843, Gerhard had started in Berlin the *Archaeologische Zeitung* as a lesser German organ of his favourite foundation, the Roman Institute. When the Central Direction took this journal in hand, the bond was tightened which already bound the journal to the Institute. Beside the various publications in foreign tongues issued from Rome and the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, the *Zeitung* represented primarily German archaeological work. But for this last, tasks were preparing of an entirely different character.

The annual budget of the Central Direction placed at its disposal a certain sum 'for special scientific undertakings originating in the Institute.' Of all the functions which archaeological science is in our days called to fulfil none is more pressing than the collection and publication of all existing or traceable monuments. Latterly, active progress has been made in simple tabulation by means of accurate catalogues, although many very important collections are still without a good list of their contents. But this process is no more satisfactory than catalogues of manuscripts of ancient authors. Works of art cannot be studied without reproductions—descriptions cannot enable us to see things. But reproductions only exist to a very insufficient extent. Archaeologists have only too long contented themselves with publishing and explaining the particular monuments that they came across more or less by hap-hazard, and they have often seemed quite unconscious that work on such fragmentary material can lead to no sure results. Here and there indeed one of the older Italians has attempted to collect together the monuments of one kind—as Pietro Sante Bartoli has done for the terracotta lamps, Gori for the so-called diptychs with their ivory reliefs, Ficoroni for the leaden seals—but these were, both in the kind of the monuments and in the execution of the design, efforts of modest scope. One man clearly perceived what was wanted—George Zoega, the founder of sound method in archaeology,—and he personally undertook the collection of Roman marble-reliefs; but the publication of these was, unfortunately, soon interrupted by his death. His example was followed by Eduard Gerhard, who publicly declared: 'No class of ancient works of art has as yet been treated in a clear and comprehensive way, so as to take account of the whole supply that has



come to hand, and to the arbitrary character of a mere fancy choice are we to attribute the fact that our knowledge of the old art-monuments is entirely wanting in a firm foundation.' Gerhard, whose favourite proverb was, 'Monumentorum artis qui unum vidit nullum vidit, qui milia vidit unum vidit,' gave brilliant example in the collection he himself accomplished, with the help of the Berlin Academy, of Etruscan mirrors, *i.e.* of the drawings engraved on their backs. At the same time he brought together abundant material for a collection of reliefs on Etruscan sepulchral urns, and he made some provision for the far-reaching field of Greek vase-paintings, if only by his very comprehensive publications. The *Élite céramographique* edited by Ch. Lenormant and De Witte was undertaken from a similar point of view, but remained also far from exhausting the marvellous riches of vases stored up in the various public and private collections. As to sculpture, an invaluable foundation has been laid in Count Clarac's large *Musée de sculpture*, which, however, is greatly wanting in stylistic accuracy and in critical circumspection.

It was in this direction that a path of successful activity was marked out for the Institute. Already in 1835, Bunsen had called attention to the duty of the Institute to bring together in reproductions or at least in descriptions, all accessible monuments and to work them out on principles of classification. In close connection with the Institute, the Berlin Academy embarked on the mighty undertaking of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, under Mommsen's superintendence, and shortly afterwards on that of a revision of certain parts of Boeckh's collection of Greek inscriptions, especially the Attic, superintended by Kirchhoff. In the former work, Henzen, the secretary of the Roman Institute, took part; in that of the Attic inscriptions, Koehler, the secretary of the Athenian Institute. These great enterprises, moving along similar lines, might serve as models for archaeological undertakings of the same kind. In Rome, Brunn, one of the secretaries, revived Gerhard's project of a collection of the reliefs on Etruscan sepulchral urns, and even completed the first volume (1870), after which he handed over the remaining two volumes to his pupil Gustav Körte.<sup>1</sup> Körte also took up the continuation of Gerhard's work on mirrors, which had been begun by Klügmann in Rome in 1878, and interrupted by his early death (1880), and this has been appearing in parts since 1884.<sup>2</sup> In Vienna Conze urged the Austrian Academy, in 1873, to undertake the collection of Greek sepulchral reliefs, a task which, on account of the great wealth of material, it was found necessary to confine in the first instance to the sepulchral reliefs of Attica. This work, the publication of which will shortly be begun, was since entrusted, by the consent of the Academy of Vienna, to the care of the Archaeological Institute. The Institute had further undertaken, after the death of Otto Jahn (1869), the design which he had kept in view of collecting the Roman reliefs on

<sup>1</sup> H. Brunn, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*. Band bearb. von A. Klügmann und G. Körte. I. *Ciclo troico*. Rome 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*. Fünft

Numbers 1-9. Berlin, 1884-1888.

sarcophagi, which task was committed to Jahn's pupil Friedrich Matz. The premature death of this young and excellent investigator (1874) for a time deprived the enterprise of its leader, until Carl Robert entered on the great undertaking. He carried it on so zealously, that at present the first part of the collection divided into five volumes is shortly to be published. And finally Richard Kekulé had in 1873 proposed to the Central Direction the collection of the so-called terra-cottas, *i. e.* of the statuettes and reliefs of baked clay, and had thus undertaken a difficult and far-reaching work which had hitherto been undeservedly neglected. Assisted by his pupil Hermann von Rohden, Kekulé accomplished his task as quickly as the material at his disposal would allow. The first volume, comprising the terra-cottas of Pompeii, compiled by Rohden, appeared in 1880; four years later followed Kekulé's compilation of Sicilian terra-cottas.<sup>1</sup> Two further volumes, comprising the Roman bas-reliefs best known from the Campana collection in the Louvre and the Tanagraean terra-cottas, are in course of preparation.

But however long the list of the publications of 'series' now in process, we see that after all but a modest beginning has been made when we consider the whole of the task yet to be accomplished. For to mention but a few of the most prominent classes of monuments, we are still wanting in the statues, the pictures, the vase-paintings, the bronzes, the gems,—to say nothing of the architectural works. Only for the first-named class, the statues,—among the most important of all,—are the preparatory operations already begun. There are two points of great importance in determining the choice of the series to be collected. In the first place it is necessary to find the right man for the particular task, which is not always an easy matter. The undertakings that have hitherto been started rest entirely on the personal initiative of the editors, who have for the most part had at their command the results of some preparatory work, their own or that of others. In such a case it was necessary to seize the opportunity, without considering whether this or that class of monuments was of the greatest importance. So that this point has been most essential in determining the selection of subjects. Besides this consideration, we have that of the funds to be applied to the work. The sum granted to the Institute for such purposes scarcely suffices to keep on foot the undertakings already started, indeed besides other causes, of which we shall speak directly, the paucity of means has had no small share in retarding the publications. So that it is no wonder if from time to time other series, of narrower compass, which might readily have found some one to take them up, have had to be postponed, and if the preparatory work for the series next contemplated, that of the statues, progresses but slowly.

It is thus evident that the Institute, working from its centre in Berlin, and sustained by the effective co-operation of the branches at Rome and Athens, has made considerable efforts towards supplying archaeological

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<sup>1</sup> R. Kekulé, *Die Antiken Terracotten*. I. H. Stuttgart, 1880. II. R. Kekulé, *Die Terracotten von Rohden, Die Terracotten von Pompeji. ten von Sicilien*. Berlin u. Stuttgart, 1884.

studies with the fundamental basis so long required. All this activity is scarcely known beyond the narrowest circle of specialists, still less has it received its due meed of praise. But this is only natural when we consider that the greater part of the preparatory work must of necessity be accomplished in complete silence. We lose all inclination to disparage the exertions made and to complain of the delay in the appearance of results as soon as we realize the nature of the preparatory work; thus even in the case of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, in spite of the wonderful powers of work of Mommsen and his fellow-labourers, whole decennia elapsed from the commencement of the whole work before the separate volumes could be arranged in something like connected sequence. We may be allowed to trace here the course followed in this kind of work in the case of one class of monuments which may serve as a specimen—that of the Roman sarcophagi.

The marble sarcophagi of Roman times fall into two great classes. One kind is especially found in Greek lands, and comparatively few specimens came from other regions. The other consists of those that are for the most part products of the city of Rome, and of a smaller number manufactured in other parts of Italy or in the provinces of the Roman empire. Of the sarcophagi belonging to the city of Rome, the greater number have remained in Rome, but very much scattered, as since the time of the Renaissance, the long reliefs of the sarcophagi have been freely used for the adornment of palaces, villas and houses, while the complete sarcophagi have served as fountains, troughs, and for similar purposes. A considerable number had gradually found their way into the Roman museums. But there was also a large number of these sarcophagi and sarcophagus reliefs that had strayed away from Rome into the other museums of Europe. Scarcely a single collection, as far as St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, Scotland (Rossie Priory), Portugal, is without any specimens. On account of this wide diffusion of material, the editor experiences in the first place considerable trouble in making a complete survey, then he has to make sure how much of this has already been published and also whether the publications are to be trusted. This is very seldom the case, since at the present day the claims of science are much higher than they were formerly, and involve not only reproductions accurate in detail and correct in style, but above all things we must have it carefully ascertained how much of the work in high relief—so easily damaged—is really antique, and how much is an addition due to the naïve delight in creation of past centuries, which, unconcerned with questions as to genuineness, busied itself in producing something pleasing that could be used in the decorations of courts, passages, and halls. We also have to cope with modern restorations, as they are still carried on in Rome, where, *e.g.*, people are not afraid to produce, by completely arbitrary additions, from the damaged remains of a sarcophagus representing Marsyas, a varied combination of representations of all kinds of events. These investigations are, of course, only to be made with the originals, and thus require long journeys on the part of the collator, often to distant lands, where the remains of ancient art are to be found at the very limits of modern culture. Personal inspection is

most particularly needed in the case of those sarcophagi which are only known from descriptions, often only from brief mentions. And again, it is only in this way that the distinction can safely be made between what merits or requires reproduction by engraving, and what only needs an exact description; since it would evidently be needless waste to have a drawing made of every single repetition of exactly the same composition.

These preparatory efforts on the part of the intending editor must be followed by those of the draughtsman. And it is no light task to discover an artist who has skill in work of this particular kind and is willing to devote himself to it entirely. As soon as he is found, he must next be made acquainted with the special character of the work in hand and must acquire practice in it. Mechanical reproductions, by means of photography, are generally impossible owing to the position of the monuments and the light in which they stand. We must have recourse then to drawing by hand, which by reason of the multitude of figures, and the dimensions of the compositions, often, too, the inconvenient position of the objects, occupies a great deal of time. And then the draughtsman ought also to be somewhat of a diplomatist. He must obtain access to the original, must overcome the innumerable, always novel difficulties which the fancies of the owners or the avarice of the keepers put in his way, must on occasions provide himself with a scaffold and see to what is necessary in other ways. In Rome, or generally in the larger museums, he is supported in his efforts by the officials of the Institute or the directors of the collections, but in the smaller, out-of-the-way places, he must rely on his own energy, tact, and powers of persuasion. But at last all these difficulties are overcome, and the bitter cold of winter in the museums and the glowing heat of summer in the streets and courts have been successfully withstood,—the drawings are ready. Now begins the revision, for even the most practised draughtsman, not being a specialist in archaeology, will not be able to comprehend and reproduce everything correctly. Again, he will hardly in every case have a quite sound judgment as to the distinction between the antique parts and the modern additions or alterations. The head of the undertaking must therefore set out on his travels again, and if possible in company with the draughtsman, must set about a comparison of the drawings with the originals, and order what alterations may be necessary. Not till then does the material lie to hand in a form fit for use.

This work, which has to do with several thousands of many-figured reliefs, has meantime occupied a period of many years and necessarily consumed large sums of money. As a matter of fact, the work preparatory to the *Corpus Sarcophagorum* has cost about £5,000. Now begins the publication. A publisher has to be found and terms arranged with him—no easy matter in a work involving so much engraving. Besides this, the editor of the collection must determine the arrangement of the whole work, the suitable distribution of the separate subjects on the plates, the mode of reproduction—by copper-plate, lithography, mechanical process, or one of the heliotype processes—and to superintend the carrying out of the whole. He must at the same time be always on the watch to see whether in the mean-

time new monuments of the kind come to light and require supplementary drawings. Finally he has to compose the letterpress, and to solve all the problems which may be raised in connection with it. Then he must send to press, and the printing being often of a laborious kind involves yet further expenditure of time; and now at last first the volume, finally the whole work, is complete, until fresh accretions of monuments necessitate the production of supplementary numbers.

Thus tedious is the process involved in every single series. With smaller works that frequently change hands and are easily lost sight of when in private ownership, such as *terra-cottas*, the difficulties are in many respects yet greater. Then again, the greater the artistic merit or the more peculiar the style of the monument, the greater are the difficulties of a really artistic drawing and reproduction. Yet another point is to be observed. It is not enough to reproduce in their present condition the originals that are still extant we must go back to the older sources, some of which set before us these same works in their earlier state, often untouched by any restorations, while others preserve for us sculptures that have vanished or been lost. We have to do with two different kinds of sources. Particularly valuable are the older collections of drawings after the antique, from the fifteenth century downwards, to which only in recent years the attention of archaeologists has been directed. This material is again very scattered. Berlin and Coburg, possessing two copies of a large collection of such drawings made about the middle of the sixteenth century, were first considered. A particularly rich treasure is hidden in the Royal private library at Windsor, the collections of the famous *Commendatore dal Pozzo*, of the seventeenth century, of the Cardinal *Massimi*, &c., a great part of which the Institute has been able to make use of by the kind mediation of the Empress Frederick, and by the gracious permission of the Royal possessor. The British Museum, some English private collections, the Paris Library, the Library of the *Escorial*, &c., contain other drawings of the kind not yet sufficiently brought to light, and we can hardly doubt that many similar sources of information lie unknown in various places. These must be tracked out and brought into use as far as is possible. But not only are the treasures hidden in manuscripts to be discovered—all the literature of past times must be diligently searched through with the same object. Reports of excavations, descriptions of vanished works or of the earlier state of such as have since been defaced, early engravings, notices of the fortunes of the monuments in the hands of various owners, of dealers, and of restorers—all these form the material for long and tedious labours, which, however, not being specially difficult, can be apportioned to younger workers under experienced oversight. It is quite evident that this indispensable work, if it had to be undertaken afresh for each separate undertaking, especially if we take into account the scattered and not easily accessible state of the literature on the subject, would involve a quite unreasonable waste of time, money, and strength. But also for the collection of Latin inscriptions, of which the conditions are very similar to those of the collection of sarcophagi and other monuments, the troublesome

work of making extracts of the whole literature in manuscript or print, had been undertaken and accomplished as a whole. So that we must regard as a necessity to the completion of the entire undertaking of the publication of series, a repertory, comprehensive and as complete as possible, of archaeological literature—not, of course, to be printed as a work in itself, but as a preparatory help to archaeological work. This notwithstanding it is possible that the order of the monuments to be extracted may be determined with reference to such undertakings as might be nearest at hand. This task also has already been undertaken by the Institute with a special view to the future series of statues, and has only been temporarily interrupted through want of the necessary funds.

But we have not even yet come to an end of the efforts of the Institute for the progress of archaeology. We must add a considerable number of special publications and of grants towards the publication of works, which, though useful, were not likely to be a commercial success. Not, of course, that such assistance was given whenever asked for, even in the case of very desirable publications. Such a course would have gone beyond the means and the purposes of the Institute. Only such works could be taken up which had, so to speak, the character of inventories or of sources of information. Among these are, in the first place, catalogues of antiques, such as that by Duetschke, in five volumes, of the collections of Upper Italy, including those of Florence<sup>1</sup>; that by Matz and von Duhn of the scattered monuments of Rome<sup>2</sup>; and that by Schreiber of the collection in the Villa Ludovisi.<sup>3</sup> Next to these comes Schoene's index of the valuable Bocchi collection of vases in Adria, of which the Institute undertook the publication, with copious illustration by plates.<sup>4</sup> The Jubilee of the year 1879 was the occasion of De Rossi's magnificent work on the older plans and views of the city of Rome, which opened up an almost unknown field of research.<sup>5</sup> It was also from the funds of the Institute that means were provided for Mau's *History of Decorative Wall-painting in Pompeii*, with the accompanying valuable atlas of splendidly executed coloured plates, a work of the greatest importance for the knowledge of ancient decoration.<sup>6</sup> Schliemann's Mycene finds led to the two great publications of Furtwängler and Löschcke on the so-called Mycene vases, which make a considerable contribution towards the knowledge of one of the oldest phases of art and civilization on Greek soil.<sup>7</sup> An excavation specially undertaken by the Institute in the neighbourhood of Acharnae brought to light a bee-hive vault like those of Mycene, the complete contents

<sup>1</sup> H. Duetschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*. I.-V. Leipzig, 1874-1882.

<sup>2</sup> F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*. I.-III. Leipzig, 1881-1882.

<sup>3</sup> Th. Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom*. Leipzig, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> R. Schoene, *Le antichità del Museo Bocchi di Adria*. Rome, 1878.

<sup>5</sup> G. B. de Rossi, *Piante iconografiche e pro-*

*spettiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI*. Rome, 1879.

<sup>6</sup> A. Mau, *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*. Berlin, 1882.

<sup>7</sup> A. Furtwängler and G. Löschcke, *Mykenische Thongefässe*. Berlin, 1879. *Mykenische Vasen, archaische Thongefässe aus dem Gebiete des Mittelmeeres*. Berlin, 1886.

of which were published in a special treatise.<sup>1</sup> Another is ready for publication on an excavation undertaken by the Institute itself in Lesbos under the superintendence of Koldewey, for exploring a large and hitherto completely unknown Ionic temple. Finally, with the support of the Prussian Ministry of Education and of the German Military Staff the Institute undertook an entirely fresh survey of Attica, and is publishing the results under Ernst Curtius and Kaupert's supervision in more than twenty large sheets.<sup>2</sup> By these means, Attica now belongs to the most exactly known regions of the world. A detailed text by Milchhoefer accompanies the atlas. As a welcome sequel to this we may regard the maps of Mycene, undertaken by Captain Steffen, which have for the first time presented a clear and complete representation of this remarkable seat of the earliest Greek culture.<sup>3</sup>

## II.

We hope that what we have said above will have made clear to the reader how narrow and inaccurate is that conception which would still make the *Archaeological* Institute identical with the *Roman* Institute, and confine all attention to this branch only. What we are dealing with is in fact nothing less than an attempt at the *organization of archaeological work*, so far as such an attempt is necessary and practicable; for it is hardly needful to say that, besides this, the free labour of individuals will and must often continue to be the principal factor in scientific progress. This thought was already present to Gerhard and to the other founders of the Roman Institute, and we must admire the talent with which the task was taken up, and the parts assigned, while the threads invisibly rested in the hands of that great organizer. But since Gerhard's death we have no central personality, acknowledged as such by all nations and by all fellow-workers. Moreover, the tasks set before archaeology—which may justly be considered among the most progressive sciences of our century—have so much increased that a single person and the former limited means no longer suffice for the comprehensive and lofty purposes in view. In consequence, the Central Direction, faithful to the traditions of the Institute while gradually transforming them, has undertaken this task and entered on the new paths marked out, without claiming in any way a privilege for doing so, but showing the way to other similar Institutions or Academies which might be willing to undertake or to promote other parts of the large work still remaining. For it is evident that neither the work of individual specialists nor the means of individual publishers would be sufficient for such a scope. Only large public funds, methodically laid out, might in time attain the goal. The same remarks apply to the large historical publications undertaken in different countries

<sup>1</sup> *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, herausgegeben vom deutschen archäolog. Institute in Athen. Athen, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von*

*Attika*. Plates, I.-V. Berlin, 1881-1887. Letterpress, I. II. Berlin, 1881-1883.

<sup>3</sup> Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*. Berlin, 1884.

and generally supported by public funds, or by learned bodies, except that it results necessarily from the nature of art, which must appeal to the eye, and to the conditions of the editing of works of art, that the publication of the great archaeological collections requires much larger sums than do the drawing up and the publication of mere written documents. And so in the choice of the means of reproduction no luxury is admitted; in fact economy is carried to such lengths that—hitherto, at least—those who are working on the series or on the special enterprises, receive no other reward for their most fatiguing labours than that which consists in the consciousness of having furthered the cause of science. There is need in truth of the self-denying, ideal tone of mind, which is not yet out of vogue among the representatives of science in Germany, to overcome faint-heartedness in work. But there is also need of a union of all forces, of a close organization, to prevent the strength of individuals from being spent unprofitably, and to make all efforts help towards the attainment of the great objects in view.

It has already been remarked that for these objects the most important means have been provided in the two institutions abroad, the Roman and the Athenian Institutes. For either of these Institutes, its sphere of action has been determined by its geographical position. Athens must be the centre of exploration for those lands of the East where Greek influences have preponderated, not merely for European Greece with its islands and the neighbouring regions, but also for Asia Minor, which has of late been the field of rival explorations from all nations, as far as Cyprus and the coasts of ancient Phœnicia. The Roman branch institution naturally has Italy for its primary field of research, without losing sight of the further western lands of the old Roman Empire. Besides keeping a watchful eye on all fresh discoveries, besides their own travels of research and even their own excavations on a small scale, the branch institutions find leisure for prosecuting vigorously those great tasks which belong to the Institute as a whole. The directors of the series as well as the artists employed, naturally have recourse to the secretaries in Rome or Athens, who smooth their paths and generally undertake their cause. But besides the secretaries, they have at their disposal the whole ranks of young scholars, who for about forty years have, in the phrase of the Capitol, gone by the name of *ragazzi*. Of these the main body consists of those who hold the bursaries of the Institute, four being appointed every year, and they are joined by other young scholars, Germans and foreigners—of late especially Austrians. These young men, under the direction of the secretaries, go through courses of study, with practical work, in archaeology, epigraphy, and topography, which, considering the riches of material heaped up and still accumulating from all sides in the museums, afford an incomparable practical completion to their previous academic studies. Moreover they make their entrance, under the guidance of the secretaries, into the organism we have already described of archaeological work as a whole, and it is gratifying to see how zealously and how skilfully the young men, in addition to their own studies, undertake now the



cataloguing of a collection, now the promotion of one of the great publications, now a small excavation, now the exploration of unknown places or of insufficiently known ruins. We soon recognize that a strong common motive power urges on all these labours, and how in active and friendly competition each exerts himself for the common good: 'To be the first in every field, and still surpass the rest.' And yet the reins are not held so tight as may be the case in other similar institutions. The German way is to leave to the individuals as much freedom as possible, and the good training and good will of the majority fully justifies this principle. All the more encouraging is the voluntary co-operation of the individuals in common effort for the progress of science.

When the attention has to be directed to such high and far-reaching purposes, the question naturally arises whether the arrangements handed down from the past are still quite adequate to those purposes, or whether in certain points reforms are required. Such considerations have come home to the members of the Central Direction for many years past. As might naturally be expected, any such suggestions applied less to the newer arrangements which were a product of the tendency to take a wider range than they did to the oldest part of the whole establishment, the Roman Institute. This had both in its organs and in its settlements entirely kept to the traditions of its time of foundation, more than a half-century before, when the Roman Institute was the only accredited scientific representative of archaeology in Italy. But in the place of a patronizing Papal government and a divided Italy, had been formed the united Italian kingdom, which was striving to gather its forces together in the scientific as well as in the political field, and wrote on its banner the proud utterance: '*Italia fu da sé*.' Already in the year 1872, the municipal Commission of Archaeology, which had for its task to preserve antiquarian interests amidst the extensive rebuilding going on in the new capital of Italy, began to publish its own archaeological journal, the editors of which were in a better position than the Institute to follow up and to place on record the discoveries which were daily being made. Thus the antiquities of the city of Rome were withdrawn from the monthly Reports of the Institute, and only the *Monumenti* with the *Annali* attached to them continued to be the natural vehicle for publications requiring much space and large plates. A quantity of periodicals in the provinces of wider or narrower scope followed the example of the capital. Of still greater moment was the decision taken in 1875 by the Roman *Accademia dei Lincei* to publish monthly accounts of all new excavations and discoveries derived from the reports furnished by the Inspectors of Excavations throughout Italy to the General Direction of Antiquities at Rome. The annual quarto volume composed of these official *Notizie degli scavi* served the same purpose which the *Bullettino* of the Institute had been endeavouring for half a century to carry out with less abundant and trustworthy materials. Was it then expedient to continue the production of the *Bullettino* in its early form? None could answer this question in the affirmative except those who regarded anything which was customary as necessarily worthy of preservation.

The difficulties connected with the folio plates of the *Monumenti Inediti* were of another kind. When that publication was begun, two methods of engraving only were in use for such works, lithograph and copperplate. The former process had been only occasionally used by the Institute, particularly for the plates published in Paris, and again, more recently, for the reproduction in colours of vase- and wall-paintings. Copperplate engraving, on the other hand, was used by skilled artists both in Paris and Rome, and so was principally employed for the plates of the Institute. During a long time, up to about 1870, they were confided mainly to Bartolommeo Bartoccini, whose engravings also in other artistic publications have won celebrity. But gradually this branch of art decayed at Rome, and now it is cultivated with far more success elsewhere. Thus in the case of difficult engravings foreign engravers had to be employed. Also in regard to all of the modern photographic processes of reproduction the level of technical excellence at Rome is rather low; and the silver-printing which is practised there with zeal and success is out of the question when a large edition is required. In the case of chromo-lithography too, only easy subjects are reproduced with tolerable success. The result of these unfortunate conditions, for which the Institute was in no way responsible, was that difficult plates had frequently to be executed out of Italy. And when this was the case the original drawings had to be sent to Berlin, or Leipzig, or Munich, and the stock of the valuable plates had to be sent back to Rome; whence once more at the end of the year they made their way back to Germany with the complete edition. It was surely simpler and more practical, seeing that this would probably be necessary oftener and oftener in coming years, simply to remove the whole publishing of the *Monumenti* from Rome.

For such removal there was another and a still stronger reason. The *Monumenti* were the only folio publication at the disposal of the Institute. In the hands of the secretaries at Rome they were naturally mainly used for the reproduction of Italian monuments, among which a prominent place was taken by the monuments of Etruria, and lately by those of early Italian civilization, besides vases, statues of the kind common in Roman museums, sarcophagi, and wall-paintings. True Greek art was thrust too much into the background, and commonly found a place only on suggestion from abroad. Such a selection of material fulfilled ill the general purposes of the Institute. It naturally seemed unfair that the Athenian Institute, situated at the very source of the purest art and in the midst of continual important discoveries should not have so large a share in that great publication as had Rome. A share in it was also claimed by the Berlin Direction; German museums and many foreign galleries, such as the British Museum with its many unpublished treasures, could be more easily reached from Berlin.

Finally there were inconveniences in connection with the *Annali*. One of the chief purposes of this publication was, as has been shown, to provide an accompanying text to the plates of the *Monumenti*: the two were closely connected. The consequence was that sometimes a very important monument difficult of comment was kept back for years because an able

commentator could not be found ; sometimes a plate was accompanied by a hastily written paper quite unworthy to appear in a first-rate periodical. Such experiences suggested the question whether it would not be better to loosen the close union between the *Annali* and the large plates, and to let each periodical stand on an independent footing.

Yet another point called for consideration. At the time when the Institute was founded, circumstances had required the exclusive use of the Italian, French, or Latin language, and the exclusion of German. But times were changed. Knowledge of the German language had, within the last few decades, spread to a remarkable extent, especially in Italy,—the only country here in question. There are at the present day in the principal cities of Italy but few scholars who are not acquainted with German, at least sufficiently well to be able to read it without difficulty, especially as German archaeological literature cannot be safely neglected by any student of the subject. On the other hand there was not a single Italian whose ears were not sensitive to the foreign-sounding style of Italian that pervaded the writings of the Institute, and it required all the courtesy which belongs to Italians by birth and breeding to endure patiently, and without change of countenance, such mutilation of their beautiful mother-tongue. As early as ten years ago, on the occasion of the jubilee of the Institute, the impatient inquiry was heard from the younger Italians, whether the time had not come to allow admission to the German language, with the Italian, into the periodicals of the Institute, and to give credit to Italians for knowing at least so much German. And indeed, since the French had withdrawn from the Institute, and the Roman Institute belonged almost entirely to Germans and Italians, it seemed unreasonable to reserve, simply in memory of old times, to the French language the place it had formerly held, now that its use had long ceased to be very frequent, and to exclude German from the periodicals of an institution that belongs to the German Empire, from which it derives its entire support, is guided by German officials, and is by preference frequented by young German scholars. We may safely ask whether France, England, or Italy, under similar circumstances, would ever have for more than fifty years completely renounced the employment of their own languages in oral discussion and in publication. And apart from the question of national dignity, convenience and equity demanded that Germans should no longer be compelled to clothe, or to cause others to clothe, their articles in the generally inconvenient and ill-fitting garment of a foreign tongue. How much of the natural expression of the thought and the original colour of the description is usually lost in this process of transformation, and how easily an unintended comic element creeps in, might be illustrated from many examples.

### III.

It was along these lines that changes were being mooted within the Central Direction, and a discussion of the subject had been placed among the agenda for the next general meeting, when matters were unexpectedly brought

to a more speedy decision. In the New Year's number of the *Kölnische Zeitung* for 1885, Herr Ihne, Professor of English Literature at the University of Heidelberg, and author of several works on Roman history, who had lived some winter months at Rome, complained of the exclusion of the German language from the writings and discussions of the Roman Institute. The Imperial Chancellor (the Institute as a foundation depending on the Empire, and on account of its branch academies in foreign parts, comes under the Foreign Office) demanded from the Central Direction a statement on the subject, and subsequently ordered them to give the German language its proper privileges in the Roman Institute. The *Monumenti* and the *Annali* were to be turned into a German periodical, the use of Latin being permitted; in the *Bullettino*, on the other hand, Italian was to be allowed, and in exceptional cases also French. In the oral discussions of the meetings German and also Italian were to be used—other languages only when the speakers were unfamiliar with either of these tongues. By this means, a definite line was laid down for the further resolutions of the Central Direction. In the most essential points, these new orders agreed with the intended changes already described, and although at first the regulation seemed to involve difficulties in some points of its execution, after a personal conference of the Central Direction with the Roman secretaries, a satisfactory understanding was reached as to the method of carrying out the future rules.

The affairs of the *Monumenti* lent themselves the most easily to re-arrangement. When this was to be made the chief periodical of the Institute as a whole, the removal from Rome to the residence of the Central Direction, Berlin,—also desirable on technical grounds—and the transformation of the *Monumenti antichi inediti* into *Antike Bildwerke* followed as a matter of course. The epithet *inediti* might be omitted, because an occasional more exact republication of monuments of which hitherto only inadequate engravings had appeared, was not to be entirely excluded. Each of the three centres of the Institute, Berlin, Rome, and Athens, obtained free disposal of a third of the twelve annual plates, although this rule is not to be enforced with pedantic precision. If one of the three seats of Direction happens to be particularly rich in materials, so that it can make public any specially important monuments, it is an understood thing that precedence should be given to its publications, and on the other hand the editorial staff has to take means for preventing undue preference from being given to any particular kind of monuments, and to provide for a fair proportion among the works of architecture, of sculpture, and of painting. The three numbers that have appeared since the change afford a justification of it which will be easily appreciated. They are distinguished from the former Roman *Monumenti* both by the variety of important monuments and by the great superiority in the processes of reproduction, and if, especially in the latter respect, something remains to be desired (for in this respect Berlin is less advanced than, *e.g.* Vienna), the progress made is nevertheless clear to every unprejudiced mind. We would observe in particular that the investigation of

architectural remains had not till now been allowed to occupy the space which its importance merited. The textual appendix to each number consists only of a rather short table of contents of the separate plates, which gives the facts about as fully as would a good catalogue. No more lengthy explanations are permitted in that place. Such elucidations as are necessary, in cases where opinions may safely be stated, find their place in one or other of the periodicals of the Institute; where the mere reproduction is sufficient, or where adequate explanation would require deeper and more protracted study, then at least the monument is made accessible to all archaeologists as soon as possible.

When in the case of the large plates, appended explanatory notices ceased to be necessary, the *Annali* seemed to lose their chief *raison d'être*, which had consisted in maintaining such connection between illustration and explanation. The remaining part of the contents of this periodical were more like those of the *Bullettino*. Seeing then that the number of really valuable, or even of somewhat important archaeological works which can take the shape of magazine articles, is not very numerous, and seeing also that it would not be desirable to further the publication of inferior work by means of a superfluity of periodicals of similar character, it seemed advisable to effect a concentration of forces, the more so as other nations—Italy, France, England, America—have recently begun with great success to unite their forces in special periodicals dedicated to archaeology. To this end, the part of the Roman *Annali* devoted to the more important investigations was united with the *Archaeologische Zeitung* of Berlin, and the twofold origin was expressed in the new title of *Archaeologisches Jahrbuch*. For the sensational interest of striking novelties, suitable for a journal or a monthly magazine, is out of place in a quarterly or an annual, which should be in the first place devoted to continuous scientific investigations of greater or less scope. These can sometimes dispense with pictorial illustrations, or they may be illustrated in the plates of the annual or by smaller sketches inserted in the letterpress, or finally they may be attached to the larger plates of the *Antike Bildwerke*. The form of the *Jahrbuch* is like that of the previous *Archaeologische Zeitung*, but made a little smaller, so that the inconvenient two-column page could be changed for a single column. The annual is supposed to be capable of extension by the issue of separate supplements. Often, unfortunately, the publication of extensive archaeological works which require a large number of plates meets with great difficulties in the conditions of the book trade, or sometimes it is effected in an out-of-the-way place, where it is withdrawn from convenient general use. The supplementary numbers of the annual, following as occasion arises, are designed to obviate, as far as possible, these disadvantages, without compelling the purchasers of the annual to take the supplements in addition. As a first instalment a paper by Strzygowski on the illustrated calendar of Furius Dionysius Philocalus (A.D. 354) has already appeared. A number of other interesting works—for instance, a report on important discoveries in the Aeolic town of Aegae, and a treatise, by Dörpfeld and Reisch, on the remains of earlier Greek

theatres and their arrangements—have been promised in the forthcoming supplements. Finally, from the present year onwards, the annual, appearing in quarterly numbers, contains a regular supplement corresponding to the *Archaeologische Anzeiger* formerly edited by Gerhard. For as it is desired, as far as possible, to keep the annual in the regions of purely scientific discussion, and seeing that the periodicals of the Roman and of the Athenian Institute—of which we shall speak directly—are occupied principally within their own geographical limits, it is advisable to have a paper of freer scope for communications on points of bibliography and on points touching museums, for notices of the proceedings of the Berlin Archaeological Society (a society akin, as it were, to the Institute) and of other scientific societies, for news of excavations, for short scientific notices, for obituary records, and so forth. This completion of the annual by the addition of a paper of this kind will certainly meet the wishes of many fellow-workers, especially of such as reside in the provinces, and owing to their distance from the centres of the Institute are without opportunity of hearing the news that ever flows thither from all parts. Thus, for example, since a knowledge of the proceedings of the above-mentioned Berlin Society, very important in many ways, has for years been unattainable by means of German archaeological periodicals, people had to gather their information from political, literary, and other newspapers and weekly papers. If possible, this will not be the case in future.

Besides these two German publications, which especially represent the Institute as a whole, the two foreign Institutes naturally require each its special organ. In Athens, the *Mittheilungen* appearing in quarterly numbers, illustrated by a number of smaller plates, has for the most part kept its original arrangement. Under Ulrich Koehler's editorship, this periodical has by the thoroughness of its discussions and its excellent scientific tone obtained a place of honour among its contemporaries. The only wish to be expressed—one justified by the title of *communications*—is that the periodical could be directed more along the lines taken by the publication—also Athenian—of the French School. However, in this respect a marked improvement has of late been visible, which is to be attributed partly to the conscious purpose of the editors, partly to the increased interest in travels and discoveries taken by members of the Institute, especially by the holders of studentships and their companions, and partly in the character and bent of studies of one of the secretaries. Wilhelm Dorpfeld, who had belonged to the Athenian Institute for some years, and became second secretary in 1886, and soon after first secretary, belongs to that band of architects who have received a thorough training in the exact investigation of ancient buildings, by means of the German excavations at Olympia and the Prussian at Pergamum, and at the same time are capable of making a complete co-ordination of their investigations with those of archaeologists who have undergone a different training. In securing Dorpfeld for the Athenian Institute, the study of architecture—hitherto almost entirely neglected—has won a permanent place as a branch of the work of the Institute. Both the *Antike Bildwerke* and the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, have already

gained much thereby, and not the least advantage of the newly aroused activity of the Institute has been the gradual fresh measurement of extant ancient buildings, and the discussion of the results obtained from them. The lesser excavations set on foot in various places for the purpose of promoting those investigations afford at the same time an excellent training in such work for the young scholars who take part in them. It is to be hoped that Germany will not renounce the hope of plucking, on some future occasion, new Olympian or Pergamene laurels, and on such an occasion, this band of directors of excavations will be found, in virtue of their knowledge and their practical skill, to be of very great service.

The example of the Athenian periodical naturally suggested itself to those who had the task of revising the form of the Roman *Bullettino*. The zealous activity of the Italians above described, particularly in reporting archaeological discoveries, and to some extent also in working out results, necessitated some kind of change. We are far from regretting this circumstance—on the contrary, it seems to us quite in the order of things that Italy, strengthened on all sides, should regard it as a task peculiarly her own to collect and make known the archaeological facts and discoveries within her own limits; nay, we acknowledge, with unmixed satisfaction, that among the reporters not a few are accomplishing their task most meritoriously. Though the Roman Institute has lost thereby some of its previous functions, it still retains sufficient for its powers. Moreover, even in the field of reporting, not all its duties were taken away. With respect to such important excavations as, *e.g.*, those of Pompeii, no reports are, for minuteness and accuracy, to be compared with those of Mau in the Roman *Bullettino*. The Italian official inspectors of excavations are so numerous that it is impossible for all to stand at the same level of scientific knowledge, and many places merit and require a more accurate report. This applies especially to those parts of Italy which were once Greek, and which lie somewhat outside the circle of interests of the Italian investigator. Further, it is a natural result of regular and official drawing up of reports, that in the course of a long-continued excavation the connection of results is easily broken, and that they cannot afford to pass over anything, however slight and insignificant. We can thus easily imagine that in many cases a supplementary or a periodical *résumé* of the really important things discovered (which must depend not on the descriptions of others but on personal observation), and a sketch of the results ensuing therefrom, must be by no means out of place. And further, the Athenian *Mittheilungen* have shown that, besides the reports of excavations, room may be found for special scientific investigations. This function of the former *Annali*, with the plates thereto belonging, is now also reserved for the *Bullettino*. So that the Roman *Mittheilungen* (with the second title of *Bullettino*) not only represent the former *Bullettino*, but constitute, with the addition of a part of the *Annali*, an extended organ for researches belonging to the regions of the Roman Institute, *i.e.* to all the western lands of the Mediterranean basin. As not only the labour of Germans, but, according to the older custom, the co-operation of Italian members of the Institute is particularly expected in

this field, both languages are equally favoured in this periodical; indeed, in order to satisfy the interests of Italian workers and readers as far as possible, it is probable that Italian will continue for long time to be the dominant language. The appended plates are in many, perhaps in most cases, sufficient for the illustration of the papers. At the same time, it is possible here also to hand over the more comprehensive monuments or groups of monuments to the *Antike Bildwerke*, while the treatises pertaining thereto, if they are to be in Italian, may find their place in the Roman *Mittheilungen*. Finally, we must especially notice—what is indeed self-evident, but has encountered doubts and fears in some quarters—that the secretaries in Rome and Athens are as independent as they were before, in relation not only to the editing of their periodicals, but to the whole sphere of their scientific activity.

But the new arrangement of the periodicals which we have described was not the only novelty. One which penetrated deeper into all previous habits was the permission to use the German language in the meetings of the Institute. These winter meetings in the large library of the Institute form, if we may use the expression, the great mart for the exchange of Italian and German knowledge. Here more than anywhere else have been formed, for more than half a century, the friendly personal ties which bind together the scholars of both nations—here the newest discoveries are imparted, and become at once material for a lively exchange of thought. At one time, all listen with eager reverence to an enchanting analysis from Giambattista de Rossi; at another, they follow with interest the arguments of the German scholars belonging to the Institute. The medium of mutual understanding was the Italian language. It was open to doubt whether German were—not equally well, but in any degree at all—adapted to this purpose. For there is for a foreigner a very great difference between the faculty of understanding a printed treatise and that of following a spoken discourse, and in this case there was also to be considered the great variety among German dialects, and the want of fluency sometimes found especially among the younger scholars. In fact, the fear seemed to be justified that to introduce the German language without making any exceptions would be to defeat the whole object of these gatherings, and to disturb the old, near relations subsisting between Italian and German fellow-workers. This result was unfortunately, before there was any visible sign of the intention of such a radical change, assumed as certain also in certain German circles at Rome, and was also openly talked of in the presence of the Italian friends of the Institute. Thus excitement and bad feeling were aroused in Rome. People thought themselves justified in assuming that the traditional relations towards the Italians were now at stake, and there arose a project of an opposition Italian Institute started by the late minister Bonghi. But when the official proceedings in Berlin, which took a certain time, were completed, it became evident that here once more there had been ‘much ado about nothing.’ Certainly, the German language was allowed free access to the meetings, and indeed, for the so-to-speak official parts of the session—the opening and closing—its use was made compulsory, in order thereby to maintain in some measure the claims of Germany in



regard to the Institute. But since, in case Italian scholars should be present, the use of Italian was expressly to be permitted to all present without any limitations, the Italians still had it in their power to give preponderance to the language of the land in which the Institute was established. If foreign guests are unable to express themselves in either of these languages or in Latin, they may, as an exceptional privilege, take part in the proceedings in other languages, such as English or French.

#### IV.

The readers who have followed these explanations will, I trust, have become convinced on two points. In the first place, that the changes necessitated within the last few years in the Roman Institute have resulted quite naturally on the one hand from the transformation of the Institute into a firmly-established institution of the German Empire, and on the other hand, from the extension of the scientific objects which had to be placed in view. Even the change of name from 'Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica' into the more simple 'Deutsches archäologisches Institut' was a natural result of that change in official position, and at once it points to the fact that the unduly narrow range of the earlier Roman Institute has been expanded so as to form an organization on a large scale, proceeding from its centre in Germany, and comprehending a variety of forces. Yet this change in name does not by any means betoken a character of exclusiveness, which would be contrary to the old international traditions of the Institute. On the contrary, the co-operation of all engaged in a like work, to whatsoever nation they may belong, is most earnestly desired. To this end, all the privileges and means of assistance which the Institute can offer have been placed at the disposal of all workers equally. The lectures and demonstrations which the secretaries undertake with the students are, both in Rome and in Athens, open to young scholars from foreign countries, if they have sufficient acquaintance with the German language, and we are glad to see that these advantages are willingly made use of in Athens by the members of the American and the British Schools. In the rooms of the Casa Tarpea, foreign archaeologists may also find accommodation, so far as space permits. And again, the use of the excellent library of the Institute is open without distinction to all educated persons; how much this permission implies, and how eagerly it is used—especially by the Italians—every one knows who has spent any length of time in Rome.

The second point on which I desire to lay especial stress is that of the relation of the Institute to the Italians, which through misunderstandings and misinterpretations like those noticed above, once threatened to become considerably strained. On several occasions, a meaning has been put into the changes in the Institute which would imply that a certain ultra-German *chauvinism* had come to prevail there, and that the changes had been prompted by feelings of hostility to Rome or even by contempt for the Italian colleagues. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Seeing

that we Germans feel ourselves, in political matters, whether through the analogies in our recent history, or in virtue of common efforts made in behalf of peace, closely bound to the Italian people, how should we come in the field of science to renounce all at once all our old traditions and to thrust back, or regard with aversion, those who had for a long time been our friends and fellow-workers? On the contrary, those changes in the publications of the Institute were in part the actual result of the recently-stimulated activity of the Italians themselves and of our ungrudging recognition of their claim to carry on their own work in their own land and by the light of their own knowledge. If in course of time, the scheme once set on foot and since abandoned, of an Italian archaeological institute should be carried out, we Germans would be the very first to give the new establishment a hearty welcome. We should behold in it not so much a rival institution as an additional strength to the spirit of scientific enterprise which would animate both institutes alike. The field of archaeological research is surely wide enough and rich enough to allow two institutes to find sufficient work without mutual hindrance. How stands the case at Athens? Besides the very energetic Greek archaeological society with its own journal, and besides the Governmental Department for Antiquities and Museums, which also has its monthly reports, we have there at work no less than four foreign archaeological institutes—the French School, the German Institute, the American School, and the British School, and yet all these find without difficulty their fitting spheres of activity. Why should we expect to find it otherwise in Rome, in Italy?

But if, nevertheless, those fears have been able to become widespread, and even to become diffused beyond the boundaries of Italy, this diffusion is in great part to be attributed to the fact that almost at the same time a complete change of persons took place in the secretarial bodies both at Athens and at Rome. It was easy to attribute an erroneous importance to this fact, which indeed resulted from an entirely accidental combination of peculiar circumstances. Athens was deprived of Ulrich Koehler who had for long been sole secretary, on his summons to Berlin to undertake the professoriate of ancient history—an honourable post which he was naturally unwilling to decline. His colleague Dörpfeld remained, and after Eugen Petersen had for a short time occupied Koehler's post, was transferred to the first place, while Paul Wolters was associated with him as second secretary. In Rome, there died in January, 1887, the venerable Wilhelm Henzen, who for almost half a century had taken part in the direction of the Institute, and who had always been, to use Mommsen's words, *bonarum litterarum apud duas nationes propagator, Italorum Germanorumque amicitiae stabilitor*. A short time previously, Wolfgang Helbig, who likewise had for more than twenty years carefully cultivated friendly relations with the Italians, had on the advice of his physician requested permission to retire on account of his failing health, and under such circumstances, this could hardly be denied to him. Thus there left Rome, almost simultaneously, those persons with whom the Italians were most familiar, and who might stand as representing the traditions of many

years. It was quite natural that some connection should be supposed between these events and the new arrangements, though such a supposition must ignore the facts that Helbig had taken part in the consultations of the Central Direction as to the new constitution, and had declared himself satisfied with it in all essential points, and that Henzen had readily undertaken to carry out the new arrangements, and thereby to prove to the Italians that the scope and intentions of those arrangements had been incorrectly represented to them. The Central Direction, thus compelled by circumstances, could do nothing more than to fill the posts with the best qualified persons available, and with such as were quite clear from any trace of hostility against Italy. Thus the principal post was assigned to Eugen Petersen, a well-known investigator and teacher of archaeology, who had likewise conducted excavations and expeditions of discovery in Asia Minor, and whose character, as well as his mature age, afforded a pledge that he, like Henzen, would always be ready to do good services to anybody, and would in everything regard exclusively the interests of science. At the same time no one seemed better suited to the epigraphical part of the task than Christian Hülsen, fellow-worker and successor to Henzen in the publication of the *tituli urbani* in the great *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. Also August Mau, who had for long acted as amanuensis to Henzen, and during his long stay at Rome has acquired the full confidence of the Italian scholars, was attached to the Roman Institute, with the special provision that he should devote his attention to the library, and also continue to prosecute his study of Pompeii. And if we also observe how precisely the most weighty representatives of Italian learning, such as De Rossi and Fiorelli, now as previously take an active share in the discussions and the work of the Institute, we may rest assured in the hope, that even if a few misunderstandings may yet linger in Rome, they will all vanish in course of time, and that the old friendly co-operation of Germans and Italians will continue to exist,—a hope which seems to be justified by the three volumes that have since appeared of the Roman *Mittheilungen*. Finally, we have a pledge for a peaceable administration of all the affairs of the Institute, in such fashion as to avoid giving offence, and to follow only the best interests of science, in the person of the man who stands at the head of the whole Institute. Alexander Conze, who had already for many years presided over the Central Direction, but had been hindered by other duties from devoting all his powers to the Institute, has now been for two years at the head of the whole establishment, in the post of General Secretary, which had ceased at Gerhard's death, but has been revived as a new office by the Imperial Government. Thus a fixed central point has been given, without which so far-reaching an organization could hardly have been kept together.

However much we may regret the great personal changes of the last few years, we must acknowledge that there is a more cheerful side to be seen in the application to the work of entirely fresh forces. There are no longer any particular interests belonging to the Roman and to the Athenian Institute, or to the department in Berlin, but all the officials and all the active members

of the Institute, mutually realizing their common interests, are animated by an equally warm affection for the Institute as a whole. They all cherish the same firm conviction of the importance of their common undertakings, of the worthiness of their common aims, and of the necessity, in order to reach those aims, of uniting all forces in unbroken harmony. May the Institute in this matter find ever the kindly interest and the intelligent support of all those, of whatever land or nation they may be, who have at heart the energetic and methodical development of archaeological science, while on its side, the Institute is ever ready to support all those who are labouring along with it towards a like goal.

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSEBURG, NOV. 1888.

(*Revised, Aug. 1889.*)

## ARTEMIS-LETO AND APOLLO-LAIRBENOS.

ONE of the most curious series of Anatolian inscriptions known to me has been published by Mr. Hogarth in this *Journal*, 1887, pp. 376 ff. Their importance lies in the fact that they show us the manners and religion of one district hardly affected by Greek civilisation, and almost purely native in character. As the use of the Greek language and knowledge of Greek civilisation spread, the native manners were proscribed as barbarous, and even native mythology was discarded and Greek tales adapted to suit the locality. I have frequently given instances of this. At *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, for example, if we may judge from the references of Pausanias, the mythology of the district was re-modelled under the influence of the Greek literary tradition of Niobe, and localities had to be found to suit the details of the story.

As to the inscriptions published by Mr. Hogarth, Nos. 12-20, probably no one who reads over the texts can doubt that Greek was strange to the writers. They were native Phrygians, speaking their own language with a smattering of Greek, quite uneducated, but impressed with the belief universal over Asia Minor that Greek was the one language of education, and trying to express themselves in Greek. In every part of the country where the inscriptions enable us to penetrate below the Graeco-Roman varnish, the same inference is forced on us. Greek did not succeed in forcing itself on the native population of Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia (except in the large cities which were centres of Graeco-Roman civilisation) until Christianity gave it the additional power of being the language of the Scriptures.

The fact that the inscriptions were written in Greek by persons who had a mere smattering of the language makes them very hard to understand. The words are mis-spelt, corrupted, distorted so much as to be sometimes unrecognisable. In June 1888 I spent a day at Badinlar, where the inscriptions are for the most part found, and discovered several new texts which throw some light on those which had previously been published. The interest of the subject makes me think it worth while to publish the newly discovered texts, and to show how far they help us towards the proper interpretation of those already published.

I have elsewhere collected the facts which prove that a goddess called sometimes Leto, sometimes Artemis, was widely worshipped in the southern

and central parts of western Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> She is invoked as the 'Mother,' and her son, most commonly called by the Greek name Apollo, is worshipped along with her. The inscriptions of Dionysopolis, where they were known as Leto and Lairbenos, give us some curious glimpses of the character of their cultus. They permit us to form some idea of the relations that existed between the two deities, mother and son, Leto and Lairbenos, on the one hand, and their worshippers on the other. With all their rudeness and bad grammar, they show us more of the real character of Asia Minor society and religion at the period to which they belong than do any other known inscriptions.

Such errors as *ἐξοπράρει* for *ἐξεμπλάριον* show that the authors of the inscriptions picked up by the ear only their small stock of Greek. The engraving also is so rudely done that Δ and Λ, Ο and Θ, Ε and Ε, &c., are frequently confused, and letters are often omitted entirely. The interpretation of these texts is greatly a matter of comparison with less obscure inscriptions of a similar kind, and I shall therefore at the end quote a few inscriptions which throw light on obscurities in the Dionysopolitan texts. M. Foucart's admirable *Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs* ought to be read in company with the following texts.

1. On a small stele at Badinlar.

ΩΩΑΝΔΡΟCΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕ

ΤΗCΕΠΙΟΡΚΗCΑCΚΑΙ

ΑΝΑΓΝΟCΙCΗΛΘΑΙCΤΟ

ΕΥΝΒΩΜΟΝΕΚΟΛΑC

ΘΗΝΠΑΡΑΝΓΕΛΛΩΜΗ

ΔΕΝΑΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ

ΤΩΛΑΙΡΜΗΝΕΠΕΙΕΖΕΙ

ΤΗΝΕΜΗΝCΤΗΜΗΝΕΖΕΝΠΑΛΟΝ

Σώσανδρος Ἱεραπολε(ι)-

της ἐπιορκήσας καὶ

ἀναγνος ἰσῆλθα ἰς τὸ

σύνβωμον ἐκολάσ-

θην· παραιγέλλω μη-

δένα καταφρονεῖν

τῷ Λαιρμηνῷ, ἐπεὶ ἔξει

τὴν ἐμὴν στή[λλ]ην ἔξενπλον

It is perhaps doubtful whether we should read *ἰς τὸ[ν] σύνβωμον*, Apollo being understood as the *θεὸς σύνβωμος*; but I think it more probable that in the bad Greek of these inscriptions *τὸ σύνβωμον* is to be understood as 'the temple of the *σύνβωμοι θεοί*.' My friend Mr. Hogarth recognised in *ΕΤΗΜΗΝ* the word *στήλλην*, and thus gave me the key to the understanding of the formula.

The people of Hierapolis also worshipped Lairbenos, as is proved by their coins, on which a radiated head of the Sun-god, with the legend *ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ*, frequently occurs. The inscriptions show that persons from Hierapolis<sup>2</sup> on the south, and Motella on the north, frequently came to share in the worship

<sup>1</sup> 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia,' A. II., in *Amer. Jour. Archaeol.*, 1887. To the homes of her worship add (7) the Ormeles in Kabalis, as is shown by the inscription quoted in the course of the same article, A. VIII., 'Ἀπόλλωνι

καὶ Μητρὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the inscription No. 4 in my 'Cities and Bishopies of Phrygia,' Part I., *J. H. S.*, 1884.

of the shrine near Dionysopolis overhanging the south bank of the Maeander.

I do not in the transcript correct any of the faults of grammar in the text. The intention of the writer seems to be, 'I, Sosandros of Hierapolis, having sworn falsely and being impure on that account, entered the temple of the Gods Consort, and I was chastised, and I now give warning that no one should despise the god Lairmenos, since he will have my stele as an example.' On *ἀγνός, ἄναγνος*, see Foucart, p. 147.

The inscriptions of this class agree in representing the authors as having approached the hieron when polluted with some physical or moral impurity and therefore unfit to appear before the god: they are chastised by the god (in some cases at least, perhaps in all cases, with some disease<sup>1</sup>): they confess and acknowledge their fault (*ἐξομολογέομαι* is the technical term); they thereby appease the god (*ίλάσσκομαι* probably); they are cured of their ailment or released from their punishment; and finally they relate the facts as a warning to others not to treat the god lightly. The question might be raised whether the oath in this case was a religious one (e.g. among *ἐρανισταί*, Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 210, l. 9), or belonged to ordinary social life.

The term *σύνβωμον* is important, as showing that the mother and the son were worshipped in the same temple and on the same altar: *σύνναος* and *σύνβωμος* are often united, but the latter here implies the former.

2. Orta Keui: in a house: on a marble stele beneath a relief representing a *bipennis*. The stone is broken left and bottom.

Ι Η Σ Ι Μ Ο Σ Α Π Ο Λ Λ Ο Ν Ι Υ	'Ον]ήσιμος Ἀπόλλωνι [Α]ν[ρ
ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΛ	μηνῶ] εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κολ-
ΕΝ ΤΟ ΒΟΟΕΔΙΑΤΟΥ ΣΤ	ασθ]έντος βοῶς διὰ τοὺς τε . .
ΕΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΑΡΑΓΕΓΟΝ	. . . ε καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[ . . . .
ΗΕΥΣΗΜΩΙ	. . . η εὐσημω . . . . .
ῬΝΕΥΞΑΜ	. . . ων εὐξάμ[ενος ἐστηλογ-
ΗΓΕΝ	ράφ]ησεν <sup>2</sup>

This fragment would certainly have been interesting, if it were better preserved. The relief over it shows that the *bipennis* was the symbol of the god Lairbenos, marking him as the sun-god: the radiated head on coins of

<sup>1</sup> Hogarth's suggestion of fever is very probably right in cases where no other disease is indicated.

<sup>2</sup> The probable maximum of letters lost is indicated by the number of dots. The text doubtless continued with the usual formula, *παραγγέλλων μηδένα κ.τ.λ.* The following restoration, in which I am aided by suggestions of Hogarth, suits the conditions of space, but I do not insert it in the text, as I do not feel confident of the two words that follow *εὐσήμω*: otherwise I think we have reached the truth:

διὰ τὸ ὕστε[ρηκέν]ε καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[ένε, στήλ]η  
εὐσήμω ἱ[λασάμενος, εὐλογ]ῶν εὐξάμ[ενος ἐστη-  
λογράφ]ησεν, κ.τ.λ., 'on behalf of his ox which  
had been punished (by the god) because he had  
been late and had not made his appearance (at  
the temple).' I felt confident when reading the  
inscription that the gap in 5-6 began with *ι* and  
ended with *ω*, and the words which I suggest  
are all technical in these formulae. I have also  
thought of *Χλίω εὐχαριστῶν*. Repetitions are  
very common in the following inscriptions.

Hierapolis leads to the same conclusion. At Develar a small relief without inscription shows the god on horseback bearing the *birennis* over his shoulder, a type which is common on coins of Lydia and Phrygia: some numismatists used to interpret the figure as an Amazon, but there can be no doubt that it represents the Lydo-Phrygian sun-god, who is known in different places by such names as Sabazios, Lairbenos, Men Askaenos, Sozon, &c.

Elsewhere I have mentioned the great variety of forms in the name of the god. We have *Λαιρβηνός*, *Λαιρμηνός*, *Λερμηνός*, *Λυερμηνός*, and perhaps *Λυρμηνός*.

The ox or the bull had some connection with the Phrygian mysteries: cp. Foucart, p. 77, and the mystic *ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατήρ ταύρου δράκων*; see also below, § 19.

3. At Badinlar on a small fragment, broken at top and on left side.

//////ΙΑ//////	
//ΕΛΛΩΜΙ://	παρ[αν]γ]έλλω μ[η]δέ-
//ΟΝΕΙΝΤΟΥΘΕ	να καταφρ]ονεῖν τοῦ θε-
//ΕΙΤΗΝCΤΗΝ	οὔ, ἐπεὶ ἔξ]ει τὴν στη[λη]ν
ΕΞΕΝΠΛΑΡΙΟΝ	ἐξενπλάριον

It is possible that *ἐξενπλάριον* was added as the only word in the last line; though there may have been a word or words between *στην* (which seems to be an engraver's error) and *ἐξενπλάριον*. The last word is interesting. The use of the word has been made an argument against the genuineness of the epistles of Ignatius.<sup>1</sup> We have here an example, which is not, I think, later than the second century, of the word spreading north from the Lycus valley among a rude and illiterate people. From some cause or other *ἐξενπλον* and *ἐξενπλάριον* must have been taken into the popular speech in this part of Phrygia at quite an early period. The word recurs below, 5 and 6, in extraordinary corruptions, which prove its use in the vulgar dialect. It doubtless was popularised from legal use at the conventus of Laodiceia.

These three inscriptions clear up some parts of the difficult texts already published by Mr. Hogarth, all of which I examined anew in 1888 without finding any important variation from our old copies.<sup>2</sup> I add the texts of those which can now be more completely understood, assuming all Mr. Hogarth's results. Much remains still unintelligible.

4 (Hogarth, 12). This inscription I observed on a new examination to be almost complete. We have the first line, which wants only two letters.

Ἄτ]θεις Ἀγαθ[η]μέ-  
 ρ]ου ἱερὰ βιαθίσα  
 ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κὲ ἡμα-  
 ρτήσα(σα) ἐ-τήκω

<sup>1</sup> See Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, I. p. 396, II. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The reproduction by type of such rude texts was of course very imperfect.



5      *κολαθῆσα ἐπὸ τοῦ θε-*  
*οῦ· ἐπὶ ὃ κ(ἐ) ἐστηλογ-*  
*ράφησεν παραγ(γ)-*  
*έλ(λ)ων μηδένα κα-*  
*ταφρονεῖ.*

*ἐτήκω* with prothetic vowel, which is common in Asia Minor, but generally before a double consonant. The active for passive need not surprise us in these inscriptions; but still the interpretation is doubtful, as the word is not used in any of the other texts.

The offence which has caused impurity in this case is incest. Nothing is said about approaching the sanctuary during impurity, so that the punishment is represented as inflicted directly for the offence, and not for entering the sanctuary before purification from the offence.

5 (Hogarth 13).

Ἀπε[λλᾶς Ἀπολλ]ωνίου  
 Μοτελληνὸς ἐξομολογοῦ-  
 με κολασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 ἐπεὶ ἠθέλησα μείνε μετὰ  
 5      *γυνεκός· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν πα-*  
*ρανγέλω νᾶσιν μηδέ-*  
*να καταφρονεῖ τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ*  
*ἔξει τ[ὴν στ]ήλην ἔξον-*  
*πλάριον.—μετὰ τῆς*  
 10      *ἐμῆς γυνεκὸς*  
*Βλειδίδος.*

The name in the last line is certainly ΒΛΕΙΔΙΔΟΣ; but considering how frequently letters are falsely engraved on the stone, Mr. Hogarth's ingenious correction Βασιλίδος may very well be right. In line 6 νᾶσιν is engraved for πᾶσιν: in 7 ἐπί for ἐπέ. The last three lines seem to me to be an addition explanatory of 4-5, μετὰ γυνεκός. The sentence ends with ἔξονπλάριον. In 7 I read ΝΕΙ in 1888 for ΝΗ in 1887.

6 (Hogarth 14). It is doubtful how much is lost at the beginning. One or more lines may have been broken away.

μέγεθος] Ἡλίου? Ἀπόλλ-  
 ων]ου? δι τὸ ἡμαρτηκ-  
 εῖναι ἐπεὶ τῷ χωρί[ω] ἰσέ-  
 τυχει καὶ διῆθα τὴν  
 5      *κώμη β ἄναγνα λημον-*  
*ῆσα(ς) πάρημη εἰς τὴν κώμη·*  
*παραγ(γ)έλλω μηδεὶς καταφ-*  
*ραινῆσει τῷ θεῷ ἐπεὶ ἔξ-*  
*ει τὴν σ[τ]ήλην ἔξοπράρει(ον).*

10 ερεισε τον μετον η προγεμενε  
 . . . ]υχεις και εξωμολογησά-  
 μην] και είλαθι[σ]ο.<sup>1</sup>

I think that this inscription, like the last, ended with line 9, and that the last three lines are an explanation which should have come about line 5. Either they were omitted by the engraver, or the author felt that he had not sufficiently explained the circumstances in line 5, and added some further particulars. The last two lines seem to contain the confession and the appeasing of the god. The last word is apparently as given in the text: the second last letter is imperfect. Lines 5-6 seem to be a dittography ( $\beta'$ ) of 3-5. The composer was dissatisfied and added  $\beta'$ , *i.e.* 'or.' The sense is 'in as much as he happened and traversed (vulgar for "he happened to traverse") the Village,<sup>2</sup> or in this way, in impurity forgetting I was at the Village.'

Mr. Hogarth has rightly, I think, interpreted both *χωρίου* and *κώμη* as the village attached to the temple. The name *Hiera Kome* in a similar sense is found in the lower Maeander valley. The temple was not in or close to any of the cities of the district. It was doubtless older than them all,<sup>3</sup> and was the original central hieron of the whole surrounding district. It stood on a spur of the plateau projecting into the great cañon of the Maeander, connected by a low, narrow neck with the higher ground on which Dionysopolis stood. The expression 'to go up to the temple' (*ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸ χωρίου*) is strictly true to the latter part of the approach, though as a whole the hieron is on a lower level than any part of the plateau on either side of the Maeander. The exact name of the Sacred Village is preserved to us in an inscription (*Cit. and Bish.*, No. 5) as *Ἀτυοχώριον*. This name may be compared with *Menos Kome*, which was (as I shall prove elsewhere) applied to the village attached to the temple of *Men Karou* near Attoudda.

The restoration given by Mr. Hogarth, [*Ἀὐρ*]ηλίου Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ου, in line 1, does not please me. I prefer to see in the two genitives the remains of some expression like *τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Ἰλίου Ἀπόλλωνος*. The difficulty is that *Ἀπόλλωνου* must have been the reading on the stone, but the same false form occurs in the following inscription. The name *Ἀὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου* would imply a third century date. But though the *praenomen* *Aurelius* became exceedingly common, it is not usual to give it in this way with the father's name, but only with the name of the son which precedes. For example, in this case the form of the inscription would have to be either *Ἀὐρήλιος Μένανδρος Ἀρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου* or *Μένανδρος Ἀρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου*, both of which are improbable, the latter being exceedingly rare. Perhaps we may detect the words *ἀναγνα*, as in No. 1, and *πάρρημη* for *πάρεμι*.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Hogarth (rightly as I think) interprets *διῆθα* as *διῆ(λ)θα*. I

<sup>1</sup> The inscription ends with *O*. In 10 our first copy, made in 1887, is as published by Mr. Hogarth, the third letter being part of *A* or *A* or *Δ*. In 1888 I thought it was *Ε*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Phrygian city 'Bia,' which

literally means 'the Town.'

<sup>3</sup> Apparently however it was rebuilt in the Roman period.

<sup>4</sup> The writer of No. 2, who knew more Greek, uses *παραγίγνεσθαι* rather than *παρεῖναι*.

understand that the classical adjective *λήσμων* may already have given rise to such derivatives as the modern *λησμονέω*, *λη(σ)μονήσας*.

7 (Hogarth 15).

- Μέγας Ἀπόλλω Λειμηνός.  
 Σόφρον ἱερὸς κολεθεῖς or κολσθεῖς (i.e. κολ(α)σθεις)  
 ἐπὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λει-  
 μηνοῦ δει τὸ ἔμαρ-  
 5   τηνκένει ποιστριφοῖς ν  
       εἰλάστην κλησειπὺν  
       κειτογζην ]ίλασ(α) Ἀπό(λ)-  
       λω[ν]ου μάκεδος καὶ  
       αμαζονας καὶ νεικο·  
 10   α χεῖλαις ἐξομολ[ογ-  
       ησάμενος εἰστηλογ[ρά-  
       φισα παρα(γ)έλ(λ)ω μηδι-  
       ς καταφρονήσει ἐπεὶ [ἐ-  
       [ξει τὴν στήλην ἔξεμπλον].

Lines 6–10 seem to contain a statement of the expiation. 7, 8 perhaps ‘I propitiated the greatness of Apollo.’ Possibly gifts are mentioned as part of the propitiation (εἰκό[ν]α?). In 5 perhaps the intention is a passive aorist, *προστρεφθεῖς*, from *προστρέπω*, in the sense of ‘having supplicated.’

In 1888 I could not satisfy myself about any letter in lines 14 and 15. The words *τῷ θεῷ* or *τοῦ θεοῦ* are omitted in 13 before *ἐπεὶ*, and may have been given at the end. If the letters which we read (13, 14) with much hesitation in 1887 are to be trusted, the formula expressing the punishment at the end was different: I have restored the common formula to show what I think to have been the sense.

8 (Hogarth 16) belongs on account of the name to the third century. I can add little more than Mr. Hogarth has suggested. The offence is some personal impurity, as is shown by the relief and by the word *ὄρχις*. Mr. Robinson Ellis’s *ληκηνσάμην*, as a Phrygian form of aorist from *ληκάω*,<sup>1</sup> seems correct. I have elsewhere shown that the Phrygian patois of Greek loved middle aorists.<sup>2</sup>

Αὐρήλιος Σωτηρχὸς Δημοστράτου Μοτελ(λ)ηνὸς κολαθὶν ἐπὶ τῷ θεοῦ  
 παρα(γ)έλ(λ)ων πᾶσι μηδὶς ἀνάγνον ἀναβήτε ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐπὶ προκῆσι ἡ  
 κηνήσετε τὸν ὄρχις· ἔγωγε ληκηνσάμην ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίων.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I would account for the form as the result of pure ignorance or misspelling. Similar reasons, and not a rare dialectic form such as Hesychius would quote, must explain line 3, where Mr. Ellis prefers *ἀνάγιον* to *ἀναγνον* (*Journal of Philology*, XVII. 139). But the analogy of Nos. 1 and 3 points to *ἀναγνον*.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Vergleich. Sprachforsch.*,

1887; *Philologus*, 1888, p. 755.

<sup>3</sup> I read *ΩΠΙΟΝ* in 1888; *ΩΡΙΩΝ* is however more probably right, as I did the end carelessly in 1888, and we were very careful in 1887. On the Phrygian dative singular in *-ν* see my paper in *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.*, 1887.

A writer who gives τὸν ὄρχις, παραγέλων for present παραγγέλλω, κολαθίν for κολαθείς,<sup>1</sup> may quite well have given ἀναγνον for ἀναγνος. Ε for Η before προκήσ(ε)ι is an engraver's error. Mr. Hogarth speaks of the inscription as 'a piece of very careless work.' I would rather call it a laborious piece of ignorant work by persons who had picked up by ear a smattering of the language of educated society, but who spoke Phrygian as their native language.

9 (Hogarth 19).

Γ(άιος?) Δόλλιος Ἀπόλ(λ)ω-  
νι Λερμ]ηνῶ ὁμόσας  
[καὶ ἐπιορκήσας, &c.].

I add a conjectural restoration in line 3 to show the general character. The inscription is not honorific (Hogarth, p. 390), but belongs to the same class as the preceding. Unfaithfulness to an oath is a common fault in this class of inscriptions, but the remains of letters in 3 show that the actual words were not those which I have printed.<sup>2</sup>

10. At Develar. The stone is broken so that it is impossible to say how much further the inscription extended.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΚΑΓΥΕΤΤΕΩΝΕ	Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καγυεττέων ἐ-
ΤΙΜΗΕΝΕΥΤΥΧΗΝΙΟΛΛΟΥΦΙ	τίμησεν Εὐτύχην Ἰόλλου φι
Λ[...]/.../Ρ[...]/.../ΠΑΤΡΙΝ[...]/...	λ[ο]κ[αί]σα]ρ[α φιλό]πατριν

This inscription gives us the name of a village on the borders of the territory of Dionysopolis and Mossyna. It enables us to restore the inscription published by Mr. Hogarth, No. 22, where l. 6, 7 is τοῦ δήμου [Καγυ]εττέος. This genitive from Καγυεττεύς is an instance of Phrygian Greek, and the want of an article after δήμου<sup>3</sup> is to be explained in the same way.

11. At Badinlar, on a fragment, complete only on the left, broken on all other sides: there was however no fourth line.

ΑΩΝΙΑΙ	Ἀπόλ]λωνι Α[αί]ρβ-
ΗΝ ΙΗ	ην[ῶ
ΘΕΩΥ	θεῶ ὑ[ψί]στω

12. At Orta Keui in a cemetery: beneath a relief representing an eagle. The letters are faint and worn.

<sup>1</sup> Unless ἐκολάσθην παραγγέλλων be the intention.

<sup>2</sup> In 1888 I examined and measured the stone carefully, and considered that at least one letter was lost at the left of the first line. The second now begins ΙΗΝΩ. The third now

reads ΑΒΙΙΩ. There is no clue to the number of lines, but each contained about 14 or 15 letters.

<sup>3</sup> Usually ὁ δῆμος ὁ Πρυμνησιέων is the form, but sometimes the second ὁ is omitted.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ	Ἀπολλώνι-
ΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΩ	ος Ἀπολλω-
ΝΙΟΥΟΙΕΡΕ	νίου ὁ ἱερε-
ΥΣΔΕΙΝ///	ὕς Δεὶ Ν[ω
ΝΟΥΛΕΙΕΥ	νουλεῖ εὐ-
ΧΗΝ	χὴν.

Δεῖ for Δι occurs occasionally in Phrygian Greek. The last letter of line 4 is squeezed into a narrow space sideways and of smaller size. It cannot be given by type, but is certainly Ω. Apollonius the Priest is in all probability the hereditary priest of Apollo Lairbenos (see § 31). He addresses the god by a strange title.

13. At Badınlar, on a small stele, beneath a relief representing a winged horseman to the right, carrying in his right hand an object which may be a ball or a patera. The letters are so rude as to be hardly decipherable.

ΗΡΑΚΛΙΔΗΣΠΑΝΦΙΛΟΝ	Ἡρακλίδης Πανφίλον
ΔΙΕΙΓΩΣΧΟΥΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ	Διεὶ Γωωσοῦ(?) εὐξάμενος
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ	ἀνέθηκα

The epithet following Διεῖ is quite uncertain.<sup>1</sup>

14. On a cippus in the cañon of the Macander, on the right bank of the river.

ΡΟΥΦΙΩΝ.ΚΛ.	Ῥουφίων Κλ(αυδίου)
ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ	Κλήμεντος
ΔΟΥΛΟCEYXHN	δοῦλος εὐχὴν

15. Many of the persons mentioned bear the epithet *ἱερός* or *ἱερά*. Mr. Hogarth gives the sense as 'engaged in the service of the temple.' I am disposed to get a more precise meaning by comparison with *ἱερόδουλος*: the same persons who in the original Anatolian system were *hierodouloi*, were now under the Graeco-Roman social system *hieroi*. They are distinguished alike from the slave population, from the priests, and from the immigrant population of the cities such as Dionysopolis. They are therefore the true native Anatolians, and hence the ethnic Motellenos occurs much more frequently than Dionysopolites: Motella was a village hardly affected by the Graeco-Roman civilisation, while Dionysopolis was a Greek city with the Graeco-Roman tone.

The terms *ἱερός* and *ἱερά* are in the great inscription of Andania applied to a class of persons or officials, of considerable number and chosen by lot, connected with the mysteries. Sauppe in his commentary says that this use

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hogarth's words would seem to imply that his No. 28 was copied by Mr. Sterrett in 1883. This is a mere slip of order. The in-

scription was copied by Hogarth and myself in 1887.

of the term is unique (p. 36). It is too purely Greek to be used in illustration of our present case. Strabo (p. 559) says of Comana Pontica *πλήθος [ἐστὶ] γυναικῶν τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὧν αἱ πλείους εἰσὶν ἱεραί*. Here the term must mean 'attached to the sanctuary and bound to the service of the deity.' Such women are a well-attested feature of the Anatolian worship.<sup>1</sup> Besides those who were bound to the life (*ιερόδουλοι*), there were also cases in which women acted in this way for a time as an act of devotion to the deity. An inscription of Tralleis is erected by a lady apparently of good family, to judge from her name, during the third century after Christ, in which she speaks of herself as *ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπτοπόδων* and as herself *παλλακεύσασα καὶ κατὰ χρῆσμόν*.<sup>2</sup>

16. A series of Inscriptions at Dionysopolis record the enfranchisement of slaves by dedicating them to the god. They would in that case become *hieroi*. The word *ιερόδουλος* occurs in an inscription of Sandal quoted below.

The inscriptions of this class are given by Hogarth, Nos. 1-6,<sup>3</sup> to which I would add his No. 8, in which his restoration seems unsatisfactory. These inscriptions were engraved several on one stone, or they were (as in his No. 1) squeezed in at the end of an inscription of quite different character: in this way I interpret the first line as being the end of one inscription. The stone then continues after the date of the new inscription (which is rightly explained by Mr. Hogarth), *Ζη[νόδοτος? κ]αὶ ἡ γυν(ή) μο[υ καταγράφομ]εν τὸν ἑαυτῶν θρεπτὸν* 'Αν, &c.

17. The inscriptions of Dionysopolis are to be compared with those of the Lydian city of Satala, now called Sandal, beside Koula.<sup>4</sup> The goddess worshipped there is called Leto and Artemis-Anaeitis. She perhaps got the name Anaeitis from the Persian colonists who were settled in the Hermus valley by the Persian kings. The inscriptions of Koula are of similar character to those of Dionysopolis, but are more Greek in type, written in better language, and less instructive about the native religion. I give here two or three texts, partly because they are generally incorrectly restored in their published form, but also for the light they throw on the more obscure inscriptions of Dionysopolis. In the Smyrna *Μουσείον*, No. *τλγ'*, "Ἐτους . . ε , *μη(νὸς) [Αὐ]γναίου ιβ', Τρό[φι]μος Νεικία ἱε[ρό]δουλος, ἐπιζ[ητή]σαντος Διὸς Σ[αβ]αζίου, διὰ τὸ κ[ολά]σσεσθε αὐτὸν [ἔγρα]ψα καὶ ἀνέσσ[τησα τήν] στηλλην*. Trophimus, when Zeus Sabazios visited him with punishment, wrote and set

<sup>1</sup> I use the term Anatolian worship, not as indicating identity, but only general similarity in some important features of religion in great part of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> I published it in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1883, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to those given in my 'Cities and Bishopies,' § VII. *J. H. S.*, 1883.

<sup>4</sup> I have frequently pointed out that there is no real foundation for the view now too deeply H.S.—VOL. X.

engrained in modern literature for me to eradicate, that Koula is an ancient village Koloe. Koula is the Byzantine fortress Opsikion (called by the Turks Koula 'the fortress') in the territory of Satala. The inscription now at Koula mentioning the village Koloe, was brought from the Kara Tash district, eight hours distant. Mr. Hicks, in the *Classical Review*, 1889, p. 69, doubles the error by actually confusing this Koloe with the lake near Sardis.

up the stele on account of his having been chastised: *κολάσσεσθε* is for *κολάζεσθαι*, where we should expect *κεκολάσθαι*.

18. A still closer parallel is given by the following, which is engraved beneath a relief representing a horseman, towards the right, carrying a bipennis in his left hand: Ἀντωνία Ἀντωνίου Ἀπόλλωνι θεῷ Βοζηνῷ διὰ τὸ ἀναβεβη[κέν]υε με ἐπὶ τὸν χορὸν ἐν ῥυπαρῷ ἐπενδύτη, κολασθῖσα δὲ ἐξωμολογησάμην<sup>1</sup> κὲ ἀνέθηκα εὐλογίαν ὅτι ἐγενόμην ὀλό[κλ]ηρος. To judge from the appearance of the inscription it is not later than the second century. Here many technical terms occur: ἀναβαίνειν, χορὸν, ἐξωμολογέομαι, &c.; χορὸν ought in all probability be printed χόρον, and interpreted as a mere error for χῶρον or χωρίον, the village beside the sanctuary. ῥυπαρός is a technical term of the mysteries, as may be gathered from Plutarch, *de Superst.* 12, quoted by M. Foucart, *l.c.*, pp. 147, 169.

The stone, which is said to have come from Koula, was brought to the Berlin Museum in 1879, and published by Conze in the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 37.

19. Another stone, of the same provenance, and published along with the preceding inscription, shows a relief representing a bipennis; beneath it is the following inscription: ἀνθέστησαν οἱ Ἀρτέμωνος υἱοὶ τὸ κατηχθὲν στηλ-  
λάριον ὑπὸ τοῦ βοδὸς Ἀπόλλωνι Ταρσί. This stele apparently replaced another which had been knocked down and broken by an ox belonging to Artemon or his sons<sup>2</sup> (see § 2). κατηχθὲν for κατεαχθὲν, is of the Phrygian Greek: ε is often inserted in unaugmented forms by late writers and in MSS. of early writers.

20. In the Smyrna Mouseion, No. υλγ', dated A.D. 237, six persons record (beneath two breasts, a leg, and two eyes in relief) that they make the sacred tablet in propitiation of the goddess: ποιήσαντες τὸ ἱεροπώημα εἰλα-  
σάμενυ Μητέραν Ἀνάειτιν ὑπὲρ τέκνων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἔνγραφον ἔστησαν.

21. No. υλζ', dated A.D. 159, is very important in comparison with No. 7 above. Μεγάλη Ἀνάειτις. Ἐπεὶ ἡμάρτησεν, Φοῖβος ἐπέζητησεν, ἱεροπώημα ἀποδεί[κ]νυν εἰλασάμενος καὶ εὐχαριστῶν, ἔτους σμδ', μηνὸς Ἀρ-  
τεμεισίου β'. The cry 'Great is Anaeitis,' 'Great is Apollo Lairmenos,' at the beginning, recalls 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians,'<sup>3</sup> The intention of the writer, who does not give his name, seems to be as follows, in defiance of grammar and logic: Apollo visited me with punishment when I sinned, and

<sup>1</sup> Conze makes this into two words, taking μὴν as a particle. A love for the middle voice is characteristic of Phrygian Greek, see my notes in *Philologus*, 1888, p. 755. Moreover the compound ἐξωμολογέομαι is not found in the active voice.

<sup>2</sup> The omission of the names of the sons suggests that the offence dates from the time of

Artemon, and that his sons make the restitution. This stone accompanied the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> I can merely state the opinion in this place that the inscriptions quoted in these pages give a better idea of the Artemis of Ephesus, the Mother, the Parthenos, than can be obtained from any other source.

I have set forth the facts by a *tabula sacra*, propitiating the god and thanking him. Compare *ἐξειλάσασθαι* and *εὐείλατος* in Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 220.

22. In No. *τλβ'*, Aur. Stratoniceus, having in ignorance cut wood from the sacred grove of Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaeitis, *κολασθεὶς εὐξάμενος εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέστησα*. The date is 235–6 A.D.

23. In No. *τλδ'*, A.D. 126, *ἐκολάσθη Ἀμμιάς οἰπὸ Μητρὸς Φιλείδος ἰς τοὺς μαστοὺς δι' ἁμαρτίαν λόγον λαλήσασα, καὶ [ἄ]λθαμένη, καὶ ὥμοσε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας αὐλῆς*,<sup>1</sup> *ἐγὼ οὖν ἤδη τὰ ἐπιμήνια . . .* The inscription is also published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1884, p. 378. The terms *ἐκολάσθη* and *ἁμαρτίαν* are similar to the inscriptions below. The rest is obscure; apparently she was cured and then took an oath to make some monthly service.

24. In No. *τκς'*, in A.D. 143, Artemidoros and Amias *μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἕξ, (ἐ)ιδότων καὶ μὴ (ἐ)ιδότων, λύτρον κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ καὶ Διὶ Ὀγμηνῶ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοῖς*[ς], the word *λύτρον* seems to be used almost in the sense of *εὐχὴν* as a ransom paid to the god for Artemidoros and his wife.<sup>2</sup> The only sense I can gather from the opening words is 'with their relations six in number, some of whom know and some do not know.' The *Μουσεῖον* reads *ἕξ ιδότων καὶ μὴ ιδότων*. The word *αὐτῷ* seems to imply that Men and Zeus are one,<sup>3</sup> and the concluding phrase is equivalent to *καὶ τοῖς συνβώμοις θεοῖς*.

25. This use of the word *λύτρον* occurs also in an inscription published in the *Classical Review*, 1888, p. 138, by Mr. Hicks, who despairs of the transcription and interpretation. I copied the same inscription at a khan in Simav in 1884, and can attest the accuracy of the copy sent to Mr. Hicks.<sup>4</sup> But at present I can contribute little but guesses to the explanation of the strange text, although the words are quite clear: *Παλλικῶ Ἀσκληπιάς κόμη Κερυζέων πα[ι]δίς(κ)η [Δ]ιογένου λύτρον*. The word *λύτρον*, occurring at the end, proves it to be a dedication to a deity. Asclepias, the slave of Diogenes, dedicates the expiation (*λύτρον*) to some deity. The village of the Keryzeis is introduced in an obscure fashion; but the meaning is probably 'Asclepias (a native of) the village.' The inscription is engraved below a relief representing a figure compounded of Men and Telesphoros, wearing a very short mantle with a peaked hood, with the crescent moon behind his shoulders, standing facing, and bearing a spear in his right hand. The upper

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we should read *αὐ[δ]ῆς*.

<sup>2</sup> In a long unpublished inscription of the district I find *ἔλουσε* (*i. e.* *ἔλυσε*) *τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ νῦν εἰλασμένη εὐλογεῖ Μητρὶ Ἀρτάμιτι* (*i. e.* Ἀρτέμιδι). The date is 119 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Βεννεῖ*, which identifies two gods of two different districts. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> My variations are Π or ΙΤ for Γ at the

beginning, ΗΚΕ for ΗΕ in 2, and Λ for Δ as the first letter of [Δ]ιογένου: the last is quite clear and certain. *κόμη* for *κάμης*, and *παδίσκη* for *παιδίσκη*, are also probably errors of the engraver, but Mr. Hicks's copy, which reads ΠΑΙ for my ΠΑ, gives the clue to the above interpretation.



part of the stone, which is now lost, may have contained the beginning of the inscription with the date and the word *θεώ*. Then comes the title *Παλλικώ*. The twin Sicilian deities *Palikoi* are well known; but the representation is almost unique.

26. Mouseion, No. *υξ'*, *Αὐρήλιος Τρόφιμος Ἀρτεμισίου ἐρωτήσας τὸν θεὸν ἀνέστησα Μητρὶ θεῶν στήλην εὐλογῶν σου τὰς δυνάμεις*. The word *ἐρωτήσας* proves that the *ἐπιταγή* of the god, which is frequently mentioned, is the oracle given to a worshipper consulting him.

27. No. *τκζ'*, *Απολλωνίος Δραλᾶς δυνατῇ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῷ* is explained by the inscription of Dionysopolis [*Γ*]νείος Ἀφιδᾶς Θεοδότου δυνατῇ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῷ, ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων δυνατὰ ποιεῖ.

28. The inscriptions of Koula show more variety as well as better Greek than those of Dionysopolis. In the latter *ἐπιζητέω* seems not to occur, *κολάζω* is the only verb indicating the punishment inflicted by the god, *ἱεροποίημα* does not occur, nor *ἀποδείκνυμι*, but *ἀπαγγέλλω*, *ἐξομολογέομαι*, and *στηλογραφέω*<sup>1</sup> take their place. I think however that peculiarly inflected aorists from *ἰλάσκομαι* can be traced. In the obscure parts we may perhaps look for expressions to correspond to *εὐχαριστῶν* and *εὐλογῶν τὰς δυνάμεις*.

The dates of the inscriptions of Satala vary from A.D. 126 to 237. Those of Dionysopolis evidently belong to the same period, but as they are even ruder than those of Satala, and as the earliest at Satala are also the rudest, the inscriptions of Dionysopolis may be placed for the most part in the second century.

29. Several of the inscriptions copied at Ephesus by Mr. Wood belong to the same class of inscriptions as those of Dionysopolis and Satala (*Inscr. Augusteum*, 2-4 and 8), *εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κυρία Ἀρτεμι, Γ(αίος) Σκαπτιος*, and *εὐχαριστῶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι Στέφανος*, &c. These inscriptions contain the formula 'I give thanks,' which occurs both at Dionysopolis and at Satala and nowhere else, so far as I have observed. Artemis has the title *κυρία*, as Apollo is *κύριος* in a Dionysopolitan inscription (Hogarth, No. 17). The expressions 'Great is Artemis,' 'Great is Apollo,' are found at Ephesus and at Dionysopolis. The legend *ΛΗΤΩ. ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ* occurs on a coin of Ephesus (Imhoof, *Monn. Gr.* p. 285), beside a type of Greek style showing Leto with the twins in her arms. In the article already quoted<sup>2</sup> I have traced the worship of Artemis-Leto from the Pamphylian coast at Perga, through Kabalis to Dionysopolis and Satala on the north, and on the west along the slope of Messogis to Ephesus. The god who is associated with her as *σύνναος* and *σύνβωμος*, under the names Men, Sozon, Sabazios, Apollo, is not her husband but her son: she is both *παρθένος* and *μήτηρ*. She is, as Professor Robertson Smith suggested, the Semitic Al-lat, the Alilat of Herodotus, and

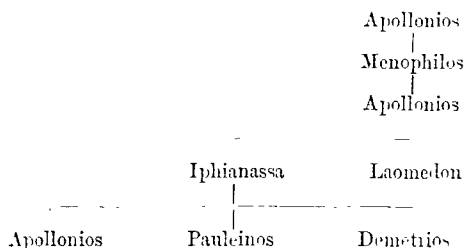
<sup>1</sup> *στηλογραφῆσαι* occurs at Satala, No. *τς'*.  
*ἐξομολογέομαι* occurs there once also.

<sup>2</sup> 'Antiq. of S. Phrygia,' &c., in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1887.

her worship takes us back to an older state of society, when true marriage was unknown, when descent was reckoned only through the mother, and when the divine mother of all life was, like her worshippers, unmarried (*παρθένος*). The worship of such a goddess cannot be accounted for except as the divine model for a corresponding social system among men. After the old social system had given way to the more advanced stage of society (introduced probably by European conquering tribes), the old religion still persisted alongside of newer forms, in which the *ἱερός γάμος* was the divine prototype and sanction of human marriage.

30. One rite of the primitive religion, whose traces are gradually being discovered among the inscriptions, may here be mentioned, viz. *τὸ ἱερὸν ἄθυτον αἰγοτόμιον* (Hogarth, No. 17). We may gather from the fact that this flesh was sacred and not allowed to be eaten, that at Dionysopolis the goat was offered as a purificatory sacrifice (*καθαρμός*), but not as an ordinary *θυσία*: the flesh of the former might not be eaten, whereas the flesh of the ordinary sacrificial victims was regularly eaten. I have not repeated the text of Hogarth 17, 18, 20, in which I have nothing to add, except the possibility of *Ἀσκληᾶ[ς ὁ καὶ Ἰού ?]μιος ἱερός*, but *[εὐξά]μενοι* below rather favours Hogarth's reading.

31. The priestly family of this cultus is alluded to in several inscriptions, and we can recover from them the pedigree for several generations: see above, No. 12, and 'Cities and Bishoprics,' No. 5, 6.<sup>1</sup>



There can be little doubt that these persons are all to be placed in the second century. Apollonios, son of Apollonios, the priest, belongs to the same family and century, and must be the son of one of the Apollonii of the above pedigree.<sup>2</sup> These priests call themselves, sometimes at least, priests of the Saviour Asklepios; and they make dedications to Zeus Nonouleus and to Leto with Apollo Lyermenos: there can be little doubt that here the various masculine names denote merely varying aspects of the same deity, who is closely akin to the Sozon Theos of Artiocheia ad Maeandrum, Themissonion, and the Ormeleis, and to the Men Karou of Attoudda, who was a healing god with a medical school attached to his temple.<sup>3</sup> This Anatolian god is

<sup>1</sup> In 6 read *Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μητροφίλου τῷ διὰ γένους ἱερεί τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>2</sup> Probably Γ. Νάνιος, *Ἀπολλωνίου υἱός*, Ἀνιησίτζ, Διόφαντος, ὁ διὰ γένους ἱερεύς, who dedicates to Zeus Mossyneus, belongs to the

same family.

<sup>3</sup> 'On miraculous cures in the worship of the Mother of the Gods,' see Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 98 and 170.

identified with the Greek Zeus as the great god, with the Greek Asclepios as the healing god, and with the Greek Apollo as the sun-god and the god of prophecy. The name and character of Men may perhaps seem inconsistent, but I believe that Men was wrongly identified, through the popular etymologizing tendency, with the Greek word *μήν*. Men is a native name, properly Man or Manes,<sup>1</sup> and the crescent moon on his shoulders is really a mistaken representation of archaic curved wings. The name of the 'Hiera Kome,' viz. Atyokhorion, gives an insight into another aspect of the cultus. The references given in 'Cities and Bishoprics,' part ii., § 23, show that probably the mysteries described by Clemens Alexandrinus belong to this cultus.<sup>2</sup> The entire class of reliefs showing a goddess of the Cybele type accompanied by a youthful god (the latter called by Conze Hermes-Kadmilos), are also, I think, under the influence of the same cultus.<sup>3</sup>

W. M. RAMSAY.

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<sup>1</sup> At Aemonia he was called Manes Daes (or Dao-) Heliodromos Zeus; see 'Cities and Bishoprics,' No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Protrept.*, c. 2; see Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Conze in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 1.

## TWO CYLICES RELATING TO THE EXPLOITS OF THESEUS.

[PLATES I., II.]

THE subject of the exploits of Theseus as seen on Greek vase-paintings has recently been treated by Professor Milani in a long and interesting paper in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* (iii. 1, p. 236). I propose therefore to set aside all general consideration of the myth and its typography, and to confine myself to the discussion and elucidation of two hitherto unpublished vases (plates I., II.), one of them included in Professor Milani's list, one entirely unknown to him, and both, as I hope to show, having strong claims on the attention of archaeologists. They are (1) a red-figured vase, which for convenience sake I shall call from its owner the Tricoupi cylix; (2) the fragments of a red-figured cylix from the De Luynes collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

1. The Tricoupi cylix, plate I. When I was in Athens in the spring of 1888, Miss Tricoupi with her accustomed kindness, so familiar to all visitors to Athens, allowed me to examine at my leisure her brother's collection of antiquities. I found to my surprise that it contained a vase which I have reason to believe is from the hand of Duris, and of which, so far as I am aware, no mention has been made in the numerous discussions of vases dealing with the exploits of Theseus, and which therefore, I suppose to be entirely unknown. I record here my grateful thanks to Miss Tricoupi for her kind permission to publish the vase, and for her goodness in facilitating its exact reproduction. The drawing from which plate I. is facsimiled was made for me by M. Gilliéron under my own personal supervision, and I can therefore vouch for its perfect accuracy. I was specially anxious to secure its immediate publication as, though the vase is at present in such safe hands, the security of antiquities in private collections is always precarious.

The vase, as will be seen, is in almost perfect preservation; the red body markings are unusually distinct. The subject of both obverse and reverse is simple and needs no commentary. On the obverse, Herakles wrestles with a giant, who must be Antaios. His bow and quiver and club lying idle fill the space to the left, a bit of suspended drapery to the right. The vases, both black-figured and red-figured, dealing with the wrestling of Herakles and Antaios are given by Klein (*Euphronios*, p. 122) in relation to the Euphronios Antaios krater. The type adopted by black-figured vase-painters was taken

over by the red-figured style, and little done in the way of development or alteration, except for a general softening of the ferocity of Antaios and the uncouthness of his gestures. Even in red-figure designs however, up to the time of our vase, efforts are made to characterize his savagery. On the cylix published *A.Z.* 1861, Taf. 140, his body is covered with small curved lines to indicate shaggy hair. In the Castellani cylix (*Ann.* 1878, Tav. D.), his pose is extraordinarily distorted. Even in the Euphronios Krater (Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 118) his head is barbarian and savage, his hair long, straight and unkempt. All this the painter of the Tricoupi cylix has softened down; the face of Antaios has still the blunt profile, characteristic of the savage, but the hair is neater and compact, and the attitude graceful rather than violent. On the obverse is Theseus about to slay Procrustes with his pelekus. There can be no doubt I think that the giant is Procrustes,<sup>1</sup> the pelekus being the characteristic weapon used for lopping him, and the tree is absent which would characterize the only other alternative giant, Sinis. The juxta-position of Theseus with the elder hero is the vase-painter's way of saying ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡράκλῆς. Theseus is markedly youthful in contrast to the bearded mature Herakles.

The interior is occupied by a beautiful design of a youth draped in a long himation, carrying in the left hand a cylix, while with the right he pours a libation from an oinochoe on to an altar. The design appears to have no connection with the other two.

It remains to note the inscriptions, which are all important. On the obverse is ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΘΕΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, on the reverse ΚΑΛΟΣ simply, in the interior again in full ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΘΕΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ. With respect to the interior inscription, reproduced in black, I may note that, though clear on the drawing, it is extremely indistinct on the vase itself, the red colouring having entirely disappeared. It escaped my first observation, nor did M. Gilliéron observe it while making the drawing, and it was only as I was carrying the vase back to its place that light falling from a passage window at a particular angle revealed it. Athenodotos is a familiar *love-name*. The present vase makes the fifth known instance. The list is as follows:

1. Peithinos vase. Klein, *Meistersig.* p. 174.
2. *Mus. Elv.* 1471.
3. A vase in the Bourguignon collection. Klein, p. 132.
4. Fragment of cylix cited by Mr. Torr. *Classical Review*, June 1888, p. 188.
5. The present vase.

No. 3 is of special importance as here Athenodotos occurs in conjunction with the widespread love-name Leagros. Leagros appears, as may be seen by

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<sup>1</sup> In a brief note on the inscription of the vase in the *Classical Review*, July 1888, I gave by an oversight the name of the giant as Kerkyon.

reference to Dr. Klein's list, on vases signed by Chachrylion, by Oltos and Euxitheos, and on the three earliest vases signed by Euphronios. If, with Dr. Studniczka (*Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 161) we take this Leagros to be the strategos who fell in battle B.C. 467, it seems probable, as these love-names were for the most part in honour of youths rather than middle-aged men, that the name Athenodotos was in use about where we should expect it, *i.e.* in the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Happily an inscription on the interior design enables us, I think, to settle not only to what cycle the artist belonged but his very name. On the cylix in the youth's left hand is inscribed  $\Delta\textcircled{\text{O}}\text{R}\text{I}$ , which I have little hesitation in reading  $\Delta\textcircled{\text{O}}\text{R}\text{I}(\rho)$ . My reasons for this are as follows:—

1. The sigma is entirely missing, not a trace of it can be discovered on the original vase, but there is obviously just space for it; it was expected, and probably originally written.

2. The rho of the inscription is of the shape uniformly employed by Duris; on the other hand the delta is not the dotted delta he usually employs.

3. The small *o* which precedes the  $\Delta$ , and which might otherwise necessitate the reading of the name as *oδopι* is *so small* that I think we are justified in regarding it as merely decorative: probably when the inscription was complete it was balanced on the other side by a similar decorative *o*, which made misunderstanding impossible.

4. If the inscription be accepted as an artist's name it can be almost exactly paralleled as to position by the lekythos published in the *'Εφημερίς* (1886, p. 41, iv. 4). Dr. Klein (*Meistersignaturen*, p. 150) says of this lekythos, "eine lekythos aus Eretria (*Eph. Arch.* 1886, S. 4), mit dem blossen Namen hat nichts mit ihm (Duris) zu thun"; as however, the name is written with both the rho and the delta characteristic of Duris, and the style of the vase is thoroughly congruous, I am at a loss to know why the vase is so summarily rejected. The design is as follows: a nude youth holding a discus in his left hand, and with the left outstretched nearer to the right, away from a table or seat on which is deposited a piece of drapery. On the drapery is written  $\Delta\textcircled{\text{O}}\text{R}\text{I}(\rho)$  (thus), the lines representing the folds of drapery. There are the same careful, minute markings of body lines as in our vase, and the ribs of the youth are indicated in precisely the same manner. This will be very clearly seen if the body of the nude youth on the lekythos be compared with the body of Procrustes on our cylix; line for line we have the same careful convention as to which details of anatomy should be drawn in black which in red.

In the case of a master the vases signed by whose name, if not by his hand, differ so widely, it is certainly difficult to base any argument on style; but from the fact that two vases exist in both of which the name appears on some object in the design and not in the ground, and in both of which there are marked peculiarities not only of signature but of general *technique*, it seems

to me there is a strong balance of probability in favour of their both being from the studio, I dare not say from the hand, of Duris himself. That a master should omit the *ἐποίησε* or *ἔγραψε* is nothing remarkable. This was done also by Python, Pamphaios, Chachrylion and Euthymides.

With the Tricoupi vase all has been clear and straightforward. It is quite otherwise with the second subject of this paper.

## 2. The De Luynes fragments (Plate II.).

These fragments have been long known to archaeologists. Reported to have been found at Canino, they have passed with the rest of the de Luynes collection into the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. I owe to the kindness of the Directors of the Cabinet de Medailles permission to have the fragments photographed for publication, and especially my grateful thanks are due to Mr. E. Babelon, and Mr. de la Tour for the kind facilities they have afforded me for personal study. The photographs were made of the original size of the fragments, and to suit the pages of the *Journal* have been reduced to about half scale. The drawing of the restoration was made by Mr. F. Anderson under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Smith, to whom as well as to Mr. Cecil Smith I owe more than one suggestion as to the restoration of details. A glance at the plate will show which are the original fragments (known by the tinted back-ground); the restorations, where I consider them fairly certain, are in outline: in one case, where I must confess to considerable uncertainty, dotted lines are given.

It may seem to some a hazardous and perhaps fruitless task to attempt the restoration of fragments so scattered. I hope, however, to show that in undertaking the restoration I have been prompted not only by the natural fascination of a somewhat difficult problem, but by the conviction that the restoration in its main outlines is probable if not certain. A conjectural restoration, like a conjectural reading of an inscription, is better than none at all, provided it be distinctly stated as conjectural. It forms at least a basis for future emendation.

It will be well to take first the grounds for the general placing of the various groups and, this once stated, to return to each group and state the reasons for the restoration adopted.

The previous literary notices of the fragments, so far as known to me, are brief. De Witte (*Description d'une Collection de Vases Peints*, p. 65) says "Parmi les fragments de vases de la collection de M. le Duc de Luynes, nous avons remarqué à l'extérieur d'une coupe Thésée précipitant Sciron dans la mer: le taureau de Crète, sous lequel le héros Athenien est renversé, Minerve vient à son secours: Pityocampes, Procruste, le Minotaure: et dans l'intérieur la lutte de Thésée (Θησεύς) et de Cercyon κερκυα..." To this notice, so far as I am aware, nothing of any value has been added. In the various summaries and discussions of Theseus' exploits mention is occasionally made of the fragments, but they do not seem to have been personally examined. The last literary notice is by Professor Milani (*op. cit.* p. 236). I suppose his tabular view to be in every archaeologist's hands, but for convenience in following this

paper I give the most important vases that I shall constantly have to refer to, with the letters by which he enumerates them, omitting those not needed in my argument.

*a.* Cylix by Chachrylion. Florence. *Mus. Ital.* iii. Tav. ii.

*c.* Cylix by Euphronios. Louvre. *Wiener Vorlegeblätter* v. 1. Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 182.

*d.* Cylix by Duris. British Museum. Gerhard, *A.V.* pl. 234, and *Jahrbuch* 1888, p. 142.

*t.* Cylix Basseggio. British Museum. *J.H.S.* C. Smith, 1881, pl. x.

Finally the de Luynes fragments are noted as follows (under letter *c*).

Sinis. Skiron. I. KEPKVA. Procruste. Toro legato con Athene.

Minotauro I. Antiope (?).

With the exception of the last name 'Antiope,' for the presence of which I am at a loss to account, the list is correct so far as it goes. If my restoration be correct, we have to add to it the exploit with Phaia and the sow of Krommyon.

The most superficial examination of the fragments shows at once, as had been evident to all, that they had belonged to a cylix of very large size. This cylix had been decorated with a centre interior design, and with a series of exterior designs, one and all relating to the exploits of Theseus. The size of the figures on the concave, *i.e.* interior design, showed at once that it contained, as would be expected, one exploit only; the certain letters EPKV on one concave figure left no doubt as to which exploit this was: Theseus wrestling with the giant Kerkyon.

Kerkyon then, it may fairly be presumed, is absent from the series of exploits on the exterior. There remain as possibly to be found there, the exploits with—

1. Bull of Marathon.
2. Sinis.
3. Skiron.
4. Procrustes.
5. Phaia.
6. Minotaur.
7. Periphetes.

About (1) the Bull of Marathon there is happily no doubt. The tail of the bull, his prancing forelegs remain; Theseus is prostrate beneath him and Athene stretches her aegis in defence of the hero. This exploit occupies an unusually large space and clearly takes a prominent position. Immediately next to it and joined beyond the possibility of a doubt to the right is the portion of the trunk of a tree and a fallen giant. This gives us—

(2) Sinis. The presence of this exploit is further confirmed by a fragment of the body of Theseus, with the letters ϧ|N and another fragment of a spreading tree-branch. On the same fragment of this branch is the body of a youth (Theseus) and the foot of a giant held by the youth's hand. The giant



is evidently being hurled headlong downward and this leaves no doubt that we have—

(3) Skiron. Most fortunately, on the same fragment with the giant's outstretched hand, is a foot, clearly that of a prostrate giant. This gives the juxtaposition of a fourth exploit, though it is left uncertain which. As Sinis and Skiron are already depicted, and Phaia and the Minotaur in the nature of the case excluded, there remain only Periphetes and Procrustes. As another fragment remains of the body of Theseus grasping a pelekus or double-headed axe, and this pelekus is characteristic of the exploit with Procrustes, I have no hesitation in fixing on—

(4) Procrustes. This is the more probable as the exploit with Periphetes is not nearly so popular and appears but rarely on vases.

We are now at the end of anything like certainty, and approach a field of somewhat hazardous conjecture. It may be well to resume what we have got certainly fixed. Going from left to right we have Theseus with the Marathonian bull and Athene, immediately followed by Sinis:—in the middle of the Sinis group, it should be noted, there is a complete break where all is conjectural. Sinis is certainly followed by Skiron, and Skiron by some prostrate giant whom we may almost certainly take as Procrustes. It should further be noted that so far, though Sinis has been arranged under one handle, the position both of this and the other handle is purely conjectural. Another fragment remains, on which is depicted undoubtedly a portion of the body of the Minotaur: the fragment of the tail makes this quite certain. This fragment fits exactly to another fragment containing a portion of the body of Theseus, the lower part of the leg of the Minotaur crossing the upper portion of the left leg of the hero. On the fragment which contains the portion of the body of Theseus there is an object which appears to me explicable in one way only, i.e. *as the tail of Phaia's sow*. On the strength of this fragment, and the fact that this adventure and this only (with the exception of the unimportant Periphetes exploit) is now missing, I have ventured to restore the next exploit as—

(5) The sow of Krommyon, immediately followed by the exploit with which the joint fragment couples it, *i.e.*

(6) The Minotaur.

With reference to these conjectures I feel bound to state that I have not, as in the remaining groups, received any confirmation from others who had independently examined the fragments. The interior group of Kerkyon, and the group of Athene and the bull, Sinis and the tree had in all essentials been previously placed in their present position by Prof. Percy Gardner. Dr. M. Mayer in addition to these groups had put together Theseus and the Minotaur, a group about which, owing to the smallness of the figures, I had previously had some misgivings, but for the identification of the sow's tail I alone am responsible, and with this of course for the juxtaposition of the Minotaur and Krommyon groups.

The importance of what I may provisionally call the 'Phaia fragment' is

not yet exhausted. It gives the sole and much needed clue to *the position of the handles*. The small triangular portion at the extreme top of this fragment, of lighter colour than the rest, was seen by Mr. Anderson in the course of his drawing to be not, as I had supposed from the photograph, a fracture but a portion of red colour; this immediately suggested to him that it might form a part of the *space between the handles* usual on a red-figured vase. An examination of the actual fragment in Paris showed by the thickness of the fracture that there was no doubt it impinged on the handle. Taking this for certain, and granting that the tail belonged to the sow, it follows that the space below one handle was in part occupied by the exploit with Phaia, and that immediately opposite this must be the other handle, the remaining designs being necessarily accommodated so as to suit it. Up to this point the *sequence* only of the designs could be indicated; now, the handles once fixed, it is possible to suggest their *actual place*. Adopting the sequence already indicated, and fixing Phaia's sow beneath one handle, it will be seen that the six exploits arrange themselves quite conveniently, as in the drawing. On one side, which for convenience' sake may be called the obverse, the centre place is occupied by the most prominent exploit—the Marathonian bull: to its left the Minotaur, to the right Sinis; his almost prostrate figure fits well beneath the second handle, balancing Phaia's sow. The reverse is occupied by the figure of Theseus belonging to Sinis, Skiron, Prokrustes, and part of the Phaia exploit. The exploits, it is true, are thus unevenly divided between obverse and reverse; this however is not merely possible as a general rule, but in this particular case *necessary*, as the Marathonian bull occupies about double space.

This arrangement of the obverse receives incidental confirmation from the relation it turns out to have with the interior design. Place the bull on this central obverse position, and turn the vase and it will be found that keeping it on the same vertical pose, we have the interior design roughly in the right position, *i.e.* the heads of Theseus and Kerkyon one the right way up, and the hanging drapery nearly vertical. In order that this may be evident the position of the interior fragments has been given in dotted lines on the exterior drawing.

Having roughly established the sequence and position of all the exploits, it remains to examine them one by one, and justify, so far as may be, the restorations adopted.

I begin with the centre design, *Theseus and Kerkyon*. Here, fortunately, enough of the border remained to give the circumference, the diameter of which is exactly nine inches (23 c. mètres). The fragments with the head of Theseus, back and left leg of Kerkyon, drapery and sword and sheath, fit absolutely, and so far there is no possibility of mistake. The elbow fragment with the letters EPKVA, as both the arms of Theseus are accounted for, could only belong to Kerkyon: as it has a fragment of border, its position is fixed within narrow limits. The same applies to the left foot of Theseus: that it is a left foot is seen by the toes. The position of the left leg of Kerkyon is fixed: that of the right foot cannot, I think, vary much from the place where it

is drawn in the plate. The two figures might be shifted a little nearer or farther apart, but that is all. I have chosen the position that seemed to fill the allotted space satisfactorily. Just the fragments absolutely necessary seem to have been spared by fate, one less, and anything like certain restoration would have been impossible. I am not aware of any instance in which Kerkyon occupies the interior design of a cylix, except the unpublished Harrow cylix (Milani, *op. cit. v*).<sup>1</sup> The exact pose of the figures is chosen no doubt to fill the space; the nearest analogies, though they are distant ones, are the Duris group, (*op. cit. d*) and the Bologna cylix (Milani, *op. cit. n*).

As to the inscriptions, OEZEVZ remains intact, but EPKVA leaves us in some doubt, not as to the meaning happily, but as to the precise form. The last letter is clearly not O, as we should have wished, but A. The form Kερκυαν is unknown. I am greatly tempted to restore Kερκυα/νευς/. I am not aware that this form occurs anywhere in literature, but on the fragment of a vase in the Louvre<sup>2</sup> an inscribed design occurs which seems to suggest it. The design consists of two wrestlers, and over their heads are the letters KVANEVZ. There can, I think, be no mistake about the A. The tracing in my hands gives it quite distinctly, and Heydemann (*Pariser Antiken*, p. 58) restores 'Αλ'κυανευς. This is, I think, quite out of the question. The typology of the exploit of Herakles with Alkyoneus is quite well determined; the hero shoots the giant while asleep. The Louvre vase fragment is certainly (to judge from the tracing) rather late in style, and a vase-painter may have forgotten all about the type of Alkyoneus; but I do not think this likely. Moreover the hero wrestling is young and beardless, and the second design represents Skiron and Theseus, the adventure being unmistakably characterised by the presence of a podanipter. It seems reasonable to conclude that the whole vase concerned itself with the cycle of Thesean exploits. Considering the relation of Alkyon to Alkyoneus, the form Kerkyon might easily have a second form Kerkyoneus, and Kerkyaneus is then not far away.

Turning to the exterior designs, I begin with the Marathonian bull. The type adopted is as novel as its position is prominent. In all previously known representations of the scene, Theseus is, so far as I am aware, victor or equal combatant; here to our astonishment he is supine on the ground, and in a moment will be trampled to death, did not Athene with outstretched aegis intervene. In fact we have an ἀθλον, not of Theseus but of Athene. It is not unusual to have Athene present as guide and protector, as *e.g.* on the Duris vase, but to have her in the rôle of chief combatant is unique. I venture to think this would only be possible in the case of the Marathonian

<sup>1</sup> This vase—long supposed to be at Siena—is noted by Mr. Talfourd Ely (*J. H. S.* ix. 2, p. 276) as having passed into the collection of Harrow School. It is No. 52 in Mr. Cecil Torr's 'Catalogue of Classical Antiquities' at Harrow.

<sup>2</sup> For a knowledge of this fragment, which I have not myself seen, I am entirely indebted to the kindness of Dr. M. Mayer, who placed his tracing of the fragment at my disposal and suggested the restoration.

bull, an exploit more especially Athenian in character, the bull having been led to the Acropolis as a special offering to Athene. The artist must have been a man of daring; he boldly takes the type of the Calydonian boar with its constant factor of the prostrate hero, and adapts it, with the addition of Athene in a familiar warlike pose, to the Theseus exploit. Some years back it would have been customary in a case like this to look for some variant literary version to account for such a deviation. I know of no such version, and, though I do not deny the possibility of its existence, I prefer to attribute this startling type to the artist's own invention.

Some small points remain to be noted. The bull is restored with all four feet in the air. It is possible, but I think not probable, that the hindlegs may have been supported by a rising hillock, such as often appears on vase-paintings. On the fragment with the body of Theseus there is a clear indication of a rope with a hook attached, but I cannot undertake to say exactly how the rope was continued; the restored figure of the bull generally is *adapted* from the bull in the British Museum cylix (Milani, *op. cit. t*). The uncertain object that appears to the left of the fragment containing the bull's tail I leave for consideration to the exploit of Theseus and the Minotaur. Athene is clearly inscribed, (A)IA ME O A. The fragment of drapery covering the right arm must, I think, belong here, as the folds are so exactly similar to those of the certain portion of the drapery; the hand must have held a spear, of which the three diagonal lines passing through the drapery must be, I think, the trace.

2. Sinis. This group is in its main outlines certain. It is restored chiefly in accordance with the type of Sinis in the Duris vase, where the pose of the giant with a slight variation for the right leg is exactly the same. The length allowed for the tree branch will surprise no one who remembers the length of the Sinis tree-branch in the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*). In the present case the branch must pass partly out of sight; the exact position of the twigs in sight is fixed by its juncture with the next exploit. The only room for slight variation of pose is on the fragment of the right arm of Theseus, with the inscription S|N. This forms undoubtedly a part of the name S|N|S, but whether the first half or the last cannot be decided. As the space between Sinis and Athene is unfilled, I think it quite likely that the tree branched both ways.

3. Skiron. This group is almost complete; it is easily restored by the help of the very similar group in the Duris vase. It is noticeable that there is no trace either of tortoise or podonipter. The letters SE belong of course to (O E)SE(V S)

4. Procrustes. But little of this exploit is left, and yet the restoration is easy. The Tricoupi cylix (Plate I.) gives a design that fits in easily with all the fragments discussed, and it is clearly paralleled by the Procrustes design on the Bologna vase (Milani, *n*). It is most fortunate that the foot of Procrustes is preserved on the Skiron fragment: this fixes which of the two Procrustes types—the type with the bed or the simple prostrate type—has been

adopted. It is clearly the simple type without the bed. I may note here that it was natural to suppose that the type with the bed, which appears *c.g.* in the late British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*), was the later as it was the more complex of the two; this notion has been put an end to by the publication of the Chachrylion vase, the earliest of the series (Milani *a*) in which the bed appears. It is also specially fortunate that the fragment of the body of Theseus includes the end of the pelekus. Such details as the exact position of the upper part of the body of Procrustes, and the action of the left hand of Theseus are of course purely conjectural.

5. *The sow of Krommyon.* I now come to the difficult portion of the restoration. It has been shown before that the next adventure must in all probability be that of Phaia, and that immediately below the first handle, to which we have now come round again, is the fragment of a tail which I hold must be the tail of the sow. Add to this we have a fragment still remaining to be placed, with part of the body of Theseus, a spear point, and a hand opposing it, which may quite well be the hand of a woman. This is all. Above the shoulder of Theseus are the letters  $\text{V}\Sigma$ , which I should greatly like to restore  $(\text{H})\text{V}\Sigma$ , after the fashion of the Archikles vase; but as they may equally well be restored  $(\text{O}\text{E}\Sigma)\text{V}\Sigma$ , I can base nothing on this—in fact, as the sow of Krommyon is never in any known instance inscribed, I feel the latter restoration is far the more probable. The tail fragment it has been urged upon me is not like the tail of a sow, as seen *c.g.* in the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*) or in the Duris vase. Taken however in conjunction with the facts that the Krommyon adventure is otherwise missing, and that the tail cannot be the tail of the Marathonian bull, I still hold to my theory and venture to restore the group. The figure of Phaia is taken from the Duris vase; the sow mainly from the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*). The related position of hand and sword may be compared with the inside design of the Bologna cylix (Milani, *u*). That Phaia is present is certain from the hand, the sow could not be absent: whether Phaia was in front of or behind the sow is quite uncertain.

6. *The Minotaur.* Of all the groups this is most difficult. The general attitude of the lower parts of the two combatants and the action of the sword may be paralleled from the Berlin amphora (*A.V. CLXI.*), but here the resemblance ends. The arrangement of the head of the Minotaur, the mode of attack of Theseus, is full of difficulty—so full that I have only ventured to indicate a possible restoration by dotted lines. At the top of the Minotaur fragment is a manifest piece of drapery, through which are vertical lines which must indicate the limb of a body. One thing is, I think, certain: the drapery must in some way belong to Theseus, the Minotaur was the last person to wear either cloak or veil. The left arm therefore of Theseus (the right could not reach) must have passed near the right arm of the Minotaur, and must have supported a piece of drapery. Further, if we examine closely the fragment which contains the tail of the Minotaur, it is clear that there are other lines not belonging to the tail, but forming the

end of some piece of drapery; and this is presumably the piece over the arm of Theseus. It is not uncommon for Theseus to fight with a piece of drapery over his arm, as *e.g.* on the British Museum cylix (Milani, *l*) the figure of Theseus advances against the sow, though here the drapery is *motivé* by the Harmodios and Aristogeiton group. But the actual arrangement of the drapery is here very difficult as, though it lies over the arm of Theseus, the arm of the Minotaur intercepts the vertical lines. Probably the vase-painter himself had got confused.

The difficulty is not yet at an end. We are back at the fragment with the bull's tail: on it there is a small but clearly drawn object, which, if the proposed restoration be correct, must fit on to the Minotaur group. It is a circle with a dot in the middle, backed by a curved line. The round object at once suggests the ring of a sword sheath, through which the belt was passed. Excellent instances of these may be seen on the interior design, where the sheath is suspended. The difficulty is, however, to associate the sword sheath with the Minotaur combat. In the dotted line restoration it is supposed that Theseus holds the sheath in his left hand, over the arm of which falls the drapery, partly concealing the sheath. The action of the right hand of the Minotaur hurling the stone is of course purely conjectural. But I confess the action does not seem to me satisfactory. The left arm of Theseus must pass in front of the Minotaur because of the drapery. Its natural action would be to hold the monster's horn: simply to extend the sheath seems cumbersome and feeble. The only at all analogous case is the scabbard in the left hand of Theseus in the combat with Phaia on the Duris vase.<sup>1</sup> If, however, the restoration adopted be not the right one, I am quite at a loss to suggest another. On the fragment with the bull's tail is the single letter ζ. It would be satisfactory if it could be shown that this represents (MINOTAVPO)ζ, as this would prove that this particular exploit came in this particular place, but it may quite as well be a part of (ΘΕΞΕΥ)ζ.

Briefly to resume, I consider the *sequence* and general restoration of (1) The Bull of Marathon; (2) Sinis; (3) Procrustes, to be *certain*; while the existence of the Phaia exploit, its juxtaposition with the Minotaur group, and, from the fixing of the handles, the *actual position* of all the other groups depends mainly on the somewhat slender evidence of the tail of Phaia's sow.<sup>2</sup>

Four fragments remain which I have not been able to place to my own satisfaction. *A* and *a* it will be seen are obverse and reverse of the same fragment. *A* has a piece of drapery on it which I feel almost certain must be fitted on to the drapery of Athene, as it is precisely similar in folds and arrangement. *a* has a portion of border upon it, which of course must bring

<sup>1</sup> This scabbard does not appear in the publication of the Duris vase by Geihard (*J. V. cccxxxiv.*), but is clearly visible in the vase itself, and is given by Mr. Cecil Smith in his list of corrections, *Jahrbuch* III. 1888, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> I should like to say here that if the restoration given should appear unsatisfactory to any

archaeologist, it would interest me greatly to know the grounds of objection, and I should be glad to forward prints of the original photographs of the fragment to any one who would be disposed to make a different restoration.

*a* down to the lowest part of the exterior design. Here a portion of the drapery of Athene is missing, but not a portion large enough to admit of the introduction of this fragment.

As to *B*, it contains the two letters OM, and a portion of an object, clearly a sword sheath. It also has border lines on it, which show it must be placed at the rim of the cylix. I am much tempted to place it above the exploit of Phaia, and in connection with the preceding (H)VS, restore with some form of Κρ(ομ)μνώνιος or (H)VS Κρ(όμ)ου, as Pausanias (ii. 1, 3) says the country Krommyon was called after Kromos, son of Poseidon. But there is no precedent whatever for any such form on vase-paintings. It is possible also that the letters may be part of a love-name, *e.g.* (Ἐπίδρ(ομ(ος) καλός, but enough does not remain to make conjectures of this kind of much value.

As to the fourth fragment *C*, I am in great doubt as to whether it belongs to the rest at all. It forms part of a rim: on it is manifestly a fragment of drapery which might quite well be suspended between one or other of the exploits, as is so often the case on designs of this kind. The letters inscribed are, I think, undoubtedly INOΞ. The slightly less bold character of the drawing and the smaller size of the letters make me hesitate, and anyhow I can offer no explanation of them. Though I am doubtful as to the fragment belonging at all, I think it best to publish it with the rest, as it has always been kept with them. On the other hand, another fragment hitherto regarded as belonging I have rejected altogether as the *technique* was manifestly incongruous.

It remains to say a word as to the date of the vase. Though so much of it has perished, enough remains to show that both in general composition and in the drawing of details it was quite worthy to have come from the workshop of a great master. So much is lost that it is possible it was signed, and I should not have been surprised to find the signature of Euphronios. Euphronios has left us one Thesean cylix (Louvre, Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 194, 195), which in point of composition and drawing is perhaps the nearest analogy to the present vase we have. Anyhow it may safely be said that the De Luynes fragments are later than the Chachrylion vase (Milani, *a*) and earlier than the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*).

JANE E. HARRISON.

ARCHAIC ETRUSCAN PAINTINGS FROM CAERE.

THE British Museum has lately acquired five terra-cotta slabs on which are Etruscan paintings of an archaic and interesting character such as have not hitherto been seen in this country. These slabs were found at Cerveteri in 1874 inside a small tomb to which they had served as wall decorations. The only measurement that is given of the tomb is the size of the entrance which was forty inches in height. As that corresponds with the height of the three principal slabs we may perhaps assume that they had been placed against the walls so as to rest on the ground and reach up to the height of the doorway. The surface of the slabs has been first covered with a white slip which converts them into *πίνακες λελευκωμένοι* such as were used by Craton of Sikyon, one of the oldest painters in Greece.

On this white slip the designs were sketched in with an ivory or wood point and then filled in with reds and blacks, the white ground being allowed to stand for the faces and arms of the women and for dresses which were meant to be white, whereas the flesh of the men is always painted red. In this use of white to distinguish women from men we have an artifice familiar in the Greek black-figure vases. But there the white is specially laid on and becomes a conspicuous feature on the vases. Here we have an older stage of the process, more natural, less conspicuous, yet quite effective enough. It is said by Pliny that the painter Eumaros was the first of the Greeks to distinguish men from women, and it has often been thought that this distinction consisted in white colour for the flesh of women. But as this use of white had been traditional from very early times, possibly long before Eumaros, we may perhaps assume that his peculiar name had given rise to the story of his having first made the distinction in question.

As was befitting a tomb the paintings represent scenes of mourning. This was not always so in Etruria as we know from the banqueting and other festive scenes on the tombs at Corneto. But the more archaic the art the more likely was it—whether vase-painting or tomb-painting—to have this sepulchral character. I have taken the slabs in a different order from that of Sig. Brizio who described them at the time of the discovery.<sup>1</sup>

No. 1 contains three figures, two of them being men standing face to face, the one holding a branch, the other carrying over his shoulder a standard surmounted by the figure of a bull; both men wear curious hats to which

<sup>1</sup> *Bullettino d. Ist. Arch.* 1874 p. 128.





Etruscan Painting No. 2.

reference will afterwards be made. The third is a female figure carrying a spear and a wreath; she herself wears a wreath (Pl. VII.).

No 2, three female figures, two of whom follow on after the last figure on slab No. 1; they hold each a branch of pomegranate in the right



ETRUSCAN PAINTING, No. 3.

hand, while with the left they carry the skirt or the upper robe gathered up over the forearm. The third figure is turned in the opposite direction, *i.e.* to the right and carries a circular vase or pyxis with a lid, such a vase as may be seen among our archaic black ware from Etruria.

No. 3, three female figures, two of whom continue the movement of the last figure on slab No. 2. They each hold an alabastos and wear a mantle drawn up over the head in the manner of mourners. The third figure is turned nearly to the front, her head in profile to the right. Signor Brizio describes her as in the act of fastening round her waist a metal girdle the end of which is coiled round her limbs. One would think it more likely that she is unfastening the girdle. A strip of metal might readily in being unfastened throw itself in a coil round the body.

Nos. 4—5 each represent a sphinx, drawn on a considerably larger scale than the other figures. Apparently these two slabs had been placed on either side of the doorway. They have suffered a good deal from the damp of the tomb.

For the moment we may pass over some details indicative of nationality in these paintings, and endeavour by other considerations to arrive at an approximate date for them.

To begin with the two sphinxes just mentioned, it is obvious that they have been drawn with a strong firm hand. Compared with the human figures on the other slabs they suggest an earlier period of art in which the drawing of animals, including sphinxes and such-like, had reached through much practice, a bold decorative manner, while the drawing of the human figure still betrays the want of experience. That is much the same as what Brizio means when he says that the sphinxes seem to exhibit a more archaic style than the other figures. To illustrate this difference of skill in the rendering of animals as compared with men by another instance I would refer to two vases found in the Polledrara tomb at Vulci, and now in the British Museum, which vases from having been very inadequately published by Micali<sup>1</sup> have never been duly appreciated. The one is a large amphora of coarse red ware which did not call for other than the ordinary traditional decoration. Accordingly it is painted chiefly with figures of animals, more or less fantastic. The other is a hydria of a nearly black ware and of finer shape, with a polished surface which plainly invited a more ambitious method of decoration. The subject chosen is the Greek legend of Theseus and the Minotaur, a subject which could not have been invented in art but by a Greek. The drawing of the figures is quite consistent with what we know of early Greek art. Nor can we take refuge in the thought that after all this particular vase may have been a local Etruscan product in which some known Greek vase had been imitated. Because ware of this particular kind not only does not occur in Etruria, but is found at Naucratis in Egypt, and places like Rhodes which stood in intimate relationship with Naucratis. We have therefore from our tomb in Etruria two vases, one of which, with figures of animals chiefly, represents generally speaking the end of an old-established decorative system of art, while the other illustrates the beginning of a new stage where invention and originality were needed rather than conventional training. We thus see that both systems had for a time existed side by side. So far as

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<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Ined.* pl. 4.

concerns the Polledrara tomb we can approximately define that time from the existence in it of a scarab of Psammetichos I., who established in Naucratis the Ionian and Carian mercenaries who had served him so well. The scarab may have been produced after his death, it is true, and a small allowance of years could be made for that if it were thought necessary—I do not think it is. Somewhere in the actual reign of Psammetichos I. (656—611 B.C.) seems to me to suit best the general contents of the tomb.

A comparison between the figures of Ariadne and Theseus on the Polledrara hydria and our new paintings will show that there need not have been much difference of time between them. It seems to me that our paintings are later, and that we may accept 600 B.C. as nearly applicable to them. That date takes us to a period when the Etruscans had enjoyed for some time the stimulus to art that had been given by the settlement among them of those artists who had emigrated from Corinth to escape the rule of the Kypselidae. It is assumed that the advent of these artists had given a stimulus to art in Etruria, and I think there is good reason for believing so. But we must remember also that those Corinthian artists would hardly have chosen to settle in a place which was not already well in the way of artistic development.

Helbig with general consent, I believe, has taken certain wall-paintings on a tomb at Veii<sup>1</sup> as the oldest existing examples of the art, and no doubt these paintings at Veii do represent a stage of art which in its spirit at least was much older than our paintings. The designs consist chiefly of animals, wild or fantastic, very high on their legs and slender in their limbs, as are also the few human figures. But these Veii paintings though older in spirit were not necessarily older in practice for this reason, that in the Polledrara tomb, as we have seen, were found along with the more highly painted hydria and an amphora with designs which in the closest manner resemble the paintings of Veii. These paintings may therefore either represent the end of an older stage of art, when new lines were being struck out, or they may actually, as Helbig assumed, represent that older stage of art at its prime. It would not matter much either way but for the fact that this older stage was essentially Oriental, and not a natural growth in Etruria or among the Greeks. It is quite possible that this Oriental style may have reached the Etruscans simultaneously with the later style, and that being purely decorative it had been adopted for decorative purposes at the same time as the later and more ambitious style was being taken up by more ambitious artists, or for higher purposes.

Our paintings have been compared with certain slabs in the Louvre<sup>2</sup> which also were obtained from Caere and have long been celebrated. The comparison is just so far as concerns the thick heavy limbs of the figures, the high boots, the system of colouring and even the vertical stripes underneath

<sup>1</sup> Micali, *Mon. Ined.* pl. 58, figs. 1-3; Helbig, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1863 p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* vi.-vii. pl. 39:

*Annali.* 1859 p. 325. See also a fragment from Caere in Berlin, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, pl. 68 p. 96.



ETRUSCAN PAINTING, No. 4.



ETRUSCAN PAINTING, No. 5.

the figures. Nevertheless the heads and faces of the Louvre paintings are of a much more advanced type than ours, the profiles are more nearly vertical, the beards are more formal and more like those of later art, as is also the drapery. It has been suggested that these differences may have arisen from our paintings having been the work of an artist of a more local character, and there is something to be said for this view considering the curiously local or at least national costume worn by the two men on slab No. 1. In particular the hats which they wear are the same as those on the famous bronze situla at Bologna,<sup>1</sup> the designs of which it is allowed have a strong provincial character. But even if our paintings have something of a provincial character, it would be safe to say that the profiles of the figures and the markedly conventional rendering of the knees would alone be enough to prove them older than the Louvre paintings.

The Louvre paintings have been much discussed but not, I think, fixed down to a narrow date. They have been compared with certain vases found in Etruria and painted in a style which has been described as an Etruscan imitation, more or less contemporary of Corinthian art as it was practised towards the end of the seventh century B.C.<sup>2</sup> But the vases found at Naucratis in Egypt, the fragments of a painted sarcophagus from Clazomenae and other evidence have gone to show that Corinth was not the only and perhaps not the original centre from which the Etruscans were influenced in their painting whether on vases or on walls. The source of that influence is to be looked for also among the Greeks of Asia Minor and in particular among those Asiatic Greeks who had settled in the Delta of Egypt in the latter part of the seventh century B.C. That influence we may consider to have been represented by the person whom Pliny calls Philocles, the Egyptian, placing him at the head of his list of the oldest painters; elsewhere a native of Samos, named Saurias is reckoned among the oldest painters. Even in the later Etruscan paintings at Corneto which can hardly be earlier than the middle of the sixth century B.C., we have a banquet scene in which appear painted vases of a type found in numbers at Daphnae, and at a place called Fikellura in Rhodes.

One technical point may be noticed which is common to much of the Daphnae pottery, to the Clazomenae fragments, to the Louvre paintings, to our new slabs and to much of the very archaic pottery of Etruria,<sup>3</sup> the habit of indicating borders to dresses and such like by a row of white dots between two black or red lines. I am inclined to think that this which became so pronounced a habit in these quarters and not always confined to borders of drapery, may have had its origin in an attempt to indicate a border of small rosettes such as are seen constantly in Assyrian art. Many rosettes made of

<sup>1</sup> Zannoni, *Scudi della Corsica di Bologna*, pl. 35. The hat worn by the first figure on our slab No. 1, is the same as that worn by warriors on the situla, while the hat of the other figure is the same as that worn by civilians or perhaps priests.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* vi.-vii. pl. 77: *Annali*, 1863, p. 229, the subjects being Europa on the bull and the Hunt of the Calydonian boar.

<sup>3</sup> See for example, *Gazette Arch.* vii. pls. 33-34.

glass and pierced for attachment to dresses were found at Mycenae, Tiryns, Ialysos, Spata and elsewhere, while on the pottery of those localities only a beginning is made in the painting on of rosettes, a beginning which afterwards was developed to excess at Camiros and Corinth. The rich border of guilloche along the tops of our slabs is strongly suggestive of Asia Minor, ultimately of Assyria, and considering how the older paintings of Tiryns and Mycenae had followed rather the models of Egypt we may conclude that this new element of Assyrian design in the Caere paintings indicates a change of the source of influence from Egypt to Asia Minor, or at least a junction of the two. A painted terra-cotta slab given by Perrot (*Assyrie*, pl. 14) is one of many instances of the guilloche pattern in Assyria: this slab is further interesting because one of the figures has a profile resembling the female figures on our slabs; indeed the form of the nose and nostril on our slabs and the manner of indicating the eye (as best seen in the first female figure on the right) have a strongly marked Assyrian character. So also the branch of three pomegranates carried by one of the Caere figures is just the same as the branch carried by Sargon in a relief given by Perrot (*Assyrie*, p. 513 fig. 235). Among the early pottery of Naucratis—that in which the figures are painted on a white ground, we have a number of fragments on which a very similar profile, the same hook on the nostril, and the same formation of the inner corner of the eye are to be found. As for the pomegranate it abounds on these painted vases from Naucratis. The bones of the knees in our paintings are rendered quite differently from anything I have seen in Assyrian or Egyptian art—though as far as they form a conspicuous mass they are like the Assyrian.

I am inclined to compare our new paintings with these early fragments from Naucratis while the Louvre paintings may be compared with the pottery of Daphnae which latter has been assigned to about 550 B.C.

Apart from these questions there are in the new paintings one or two things to be noticed; for instance, the standard surmounted by a bull which one of the men carries over his shoulder. It is stated that the regal insignia of Rome had been derived from Etruria, and it is known that in triumphal processions the insignia of triumph were the wreath and the ivory sceptre surmounted by an eagle.<sup>1</sup> For such a sceptre there was an archaic name *scipio*, and if that word is derived from the Greek as is supposed, then the idea of the sceptre also would have come from Greece. But one is inclined to go to the East for its origin.

'In Assyria,' says Herodotus (I. 195), 'every man of position had a sceptre surmounted by an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle or something else, the rule being that no sceptre should lack an *episkemon*.' One of the oldest examples of Assyrian art, the fragment of a stele from Tello in the Louvre, represents a standard surmounted by an eagle with spread wings.<sup>2</sup> In Egyptian art also similar standards are to be seen, and it might have been better for the argu-

<sup>1</sup> Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handbuch Rom.*  
*Alt* i. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot, *Assyrie*, p. 592.



ment as to an artistic influence reaching the Etruscans from the residents in the Delta of Egypt to have appealed to the instances of Egyptian standards; but I am anxious to keep the way open also for a probable influence coming from Asia Minor and primarily from Assyria and Chaldaea. The Etruscans themselves claimed to have come originally from Lydia, and at present there is an inclination to believe that at least they had been in early times much influenced in their art from that quarter. To a large extent the influence that reached Etruria in the 7th century B.C. would be much the same whether it came from the Greeks of Asia Minor or from the Asiatic Greeks settled in Egypt. It would still in the main be an Asia Minor influence.

Only this is to be borne in mind that in Egypt there were resident Phœnician craftsmen also whose wares would find their way to Etruria along with the Greek productions and would have had an effect of their own. Something similar to the ostrich eggs in the Polledrara tomb must have served as a model for the Veii paintings. Not only that but Caere itself had been a Phœnician factory, its old name Agylla being a Phœnician word meaning it is said the 'round town.' I have already remarked that the vase carried by one of the women mourners is quite Etruscan in its shape; but when we come to the alabasti, or 'tear bottles' as they used to be called carried by two others, we are in this difficulty that vases of this shape occur very rarely if at all in native Etruscan pottery. They do occur in the Polledrara tomb where they had been imported, without any manner of doubt as the decoration of them testifies. The women mourners remind one of the grief at the funeral of Hector (*Iliad*, xxiv, 722, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες).

The male figure on slab No. I. who carries a branch wears a toga thrown over his left shoulder in the manner described as that of the old Roman Cinctus Gabinus.<sup>1</sup>

A. S. MURRAY.

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<sup>1</sup> Cinctus Gabinus est cum ita imponitur toga ut lacinia quae prostrinsecus reicitur attrahatur ad pectus ut ex utroque latere picturae (?) pen-

deant. Isidor. *Orig.* xix, 24 quoted in Müller's *Etrusker*, ed. Deecke i. p. 252.

## A SMALL ARCHAIC LEKYTHOS.

[PLATE V.]

WE publish on Plate V. two photographic views, in the same size as the original, of a beautiful lekythos recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. Malcolm Macmillan. We give on the same plate enlarged reproductions of the designs with which it is adorned, from drawings by Mr. F. Anderson.

We hope to print in our next issue a full description and discussion of the vase by Mr. Cecil Smith. Meantime it may be sufficient to give a brief summary of a notice of it which he has already published in the number of the *Classical Review* of May last (p. 237). He classes it with the 'protokorinthian' lekythi published by Furtwängler in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1883, Pl. 10, p. 154. The following are the main features, following the order in which they appear in our Plate. The head and neck are carefully modelled in the form of a lion's head. The handle is adorned with a plaited pattern and Gorgon-head; the shoulder with a palmette pattern. On the body of the vase are three friezes which represent (1) warriors fighting, several of them kneeling and being speared from behind; (2) a horse-race, an ape and a swan beneath the horses; (3) a hunting scene, the hunter crouching behind his net. 'Below this scene is a band of alternate purple and black rays, and then two brown lines surrounding the foot. On the under surface of the foot is a tiny rosette of eight petals, alternating purple and black.'

[ED.]

## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1888-89.

## [PLATE VIII.]

YET another year has passed during which the Acropolis at Athens has been the centre of interest: and the past season has been successful enough to bear comparison with any of the previous years which have astonished by their results not only archaeologists and scholars, but all who have been fortunate enough to visit Athens during this epoch of discoveries. It must seem to many as if the Acropolis would go on indefinitely yielding its treasure of architecture sculpture and inscriptions, and ever increasing and changing our knowledge of early Athens and its arts and history. But even the Acropolis is not inexhaustible; it has now been searched to the native rock in almost every part; and unless some other site, perhaps the long-promised, long-delayed Delphi, come to succeed it, we must expect a lull in the astonishing rush of discoveries that has been almost of a nature to bewilder those that have sought to follow its course. Such a lull will almost be welcome in some respects to those who have to arrange or to study the new finds as they follow one another in rapid succession. It will enable the museums to settle into a final and orderly arrangement, and the students to arrange within their minds the new facts that have been thrust in one upon another, till the brain of the archaeologist has been as much a stranger to order or stability as the rooms of the Acropolis Museum. Meanwhile, for the present season a series of discoveries has to be reported which has dealt in the marvellous, if not in the beautiful, as extensively as that of any previous year.

The first section of the present report will deal with excavation and other archaeological work, according to localities; the second with Museums and administration, and the third with Byzantine antiquities. It is a great satisfaction to be able to record an awakening interest in these last on the part of the official administration as well as of foreign students. Happily the time is at length almost past when interesting and beautiful Byzantine churches could be pulled to pieces without a protest, on the chance of finding an inscription in their ruins, or in order to use their material for other buildings. But a good deal still remains to be desired.

Mention of the official *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, edited by M. Cabbadias, must be made under the head of administration, &c. But I must here at once acknowledge my obligation to that invaluable publication. Any account

such as the present must owe to it what completeness it may attain; and if I do not refer to it oftener, it is only because such references would have to recur every few lines. It is better once for all to state that both the actual facts here recorded and their significance are in great part to be found in the *Δελτίον*, though I have endeavoured whenever it was possible to verify or supplement them by my own observation.

### I. *Excavation and other Archaeological Work.*

Here the first place is naturally taken by the Acropolis. The excavations, which last spring had reached the neighbourhood of the Museum and the space between it and the Parthenon, have been continued to the west: pits have also been sunk within the Museum itself, where it proved that the earth had not been thoroughly searched through when the Museum was built. Between the basis of the Parthenon and the south wall of the Acropolis the whole accumulation of earth has been searched through right down to the solid rock; it has then been replaced, up to a higher level than before, pits, surrounded by walls, being left to show the most important foundations, junctions of walls, &c. It is to be regretted that the remarkable measuring points cut in a course on the south of the Parthenon basement have thus been buried; for if Mr. Penrose's connexion of these with the earlier Temple of Athena be denied, all the more reason is left for exposing them to the investigation of other archaeologists, that their real use may be discovered. However, his measurements will probably be accurate enough for any successor: but the form and appearance of the cuts will have to be taken on trust, or else made the object of new excavations.

The space farther west, usually known and marked in plans as the temenos of Athena Ergane, has also been completely cleared, and filled up again over its southern portion, where the rock sinks rapidly away. The temenos of Artemis Brauronia has also been thoroughly explored, and so the excavations have come round again to the Propylaea, from which they started. All that remained was to search through the space north of the Parthenon, where there was no depth of soil, but only slight accumulations here and there in hollows of the rock, which is everywhere close to the surface, and for the most part quite bare. For this purpose it has been necessary to move slightly the numerous blocks that have fallen over this area from the ruin of the Parthenon and other buildings. But all who care for the appearance of the Acropolis and also for the evidence to be found in the position of the fragments as they fell will be glad to hear that these blocks are only being slightly shifted, and left in their old position as far as possible. Thus the north side of the Parthenon will still retain its appearance of picturesque confusion, and will escape the painfully regular and orderly arrangement of drums and blocks that has disfigured the southern and western parts of the Acropolis.

With the exception of the two Museums, and the modern rebuildings of the temple of the wingless Victory, the Erechtheum, and some of the

Parthenon columns, the only post-classical structures that have escaped the hand of the destroyer are two bits of the Parthenon; the Byzantine casing of the great west door, and the tower that supported the Turkish minaret. These two have been condemned; for the Byzantine casing, which narrows the great door by nearly two feet each side, is known to contain inscriptions with their face inwards, and the tower obscures the plan of the opisthodomus of the Parthenon. Now that almost all the mediæval relics upon the Acropolis have gone, probably there are not very many who will regret that these two last scanty remains, quite void of artistic interest, are to follow. But the few who would regret their disappearance may be consoled by the statement that the undertaking has proved more serious than was at first supposed, and that therefore at least a temporary respite has been granted. In any case the Christian wall-paintings on the Parthenon will remain, and will be religiously respected.

At the west end of the Acropolis the work of demolition has been rapid. It began early last summer with the bastion built by Odysseus Andritsos to protect the staircase to the well called the Clepsydra, and so to ensure the water-supply of the Acropolis after it was captured by the Greek insurgents from the Turks, in 1822. One might have expected that, even if all records of Turkish occupation were to be effaced, a monument of the Greek war of independence such as this bastion, with the inscription recording its erection, would be preserved. But sentiment—or history—has not been allowed to prevail over the purely classical objects of the work, and this bastion has disappeared for the sake of a few inscriptions, and in order that the rock may stand bare as in the days of Pericles. The walls round the 'Beulé' gate, and the later casing of the towers of the gate itself have been or are being removed; so also are the Turkish vaulted gate that long served as the chief entrance to the Acropolis, and the walls around it. So far Roman work, however late, has been allowed to remain; though, if the age of Pericles is the standard, it is not easy to see why the Roman gate or the pedestal of Agrippa are worthy of more respect than the Frankish tower or the bastion of Andritsos. It has been necessary to replace part of these walls by an unsightly, but temporary, railing. The ultimate intention of the authorities is to enclose the theatres, the Acropolis, the Areopagus, and the Theseum in one continuous fence, and so to have the whole area properly guarded—an improvement that will meet with universal welcome.

Exception may be taken to the somewhat narrow view of archaeology that has led to the destruction of monuments of all later periods for the sake of finding more of that period which is undoubtedly the most interesting and important for Athens. But, after all, the amount of destruction in the recent excavations has been but small—completely insignificant compared with what had before been done, and in some degree supplementary to it. The loss being irreparable, the best thing possible in the eyes of many was to make the utmost of the resultant gain. And this certainly has been done with a thoroughness and care which deserve the thanks of all who are interested in Greek history or art. The excavations on the Acropolis during the last

season as well as before, deserve to rank among the most important in their results and the most admirably conducted that have ever taken place; it would be difficult to speak too highly of the energy with which they have been planned and directed by M. Cabbadias and Dr. Kawerau. Nor must we forget to mention the liberality of the Greek Archaeological Society, which has defrayed the expenses of the excavations up to the middle of December, 1888. Since then they have been continued at the expense of the Greek Government.

So far as to the progress of the excavations; we must now turn to their results, which naturally fall into three heads: (1) Topography and architecture, (2) Sculpture and other arts, and (3) Inscriptions.

(1) *Topography and Architecture.* An excellent account of the results in this department is given by Dr. Dorpfeld in the numbers of the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, to which I am indebted for the description of several walls and buildings mentioned below—especially such as were discovered last summer during my absence from Athens, and have since been buried again under thirty feet of earth. No complete description will be possible till Dr. Kawerau's great plan of the Acropolis, with all the results of the recent excavations, has appeared. Meanwhile a smaller sketch-plan from his hands has for some time been promised, but is not yet to be seen.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of clearness a rough sketch-plan by Mr. Schultz (Pl. VIII.) is here added, not to anticipate in any way the publication by those who alone are qualified and entitled to publish an accurate plan, but simply in order to make intelligible a description which would otherwise be confusing and difficult to follow.

New fragments of the 'Cyclopian' or 'Pelasgic' wall have come to light in several places, so that it is now possible to obtain some notion of the manner in which the Acropolis was fortified in primitive times. It must of course be understood that the names 'Cyclopian' or 'Pelasgic,' often applied to rude and primitive walls of large and rough stones, are merely conventional terms: the mere word pre-historic would perhaps be less misleading, as not pretending to assert the race of the builders. There can be no doubt, from the position in which this wall has been found, beneath accumulations of the classical period, that it belongs to the primitive citadel of Athens. It follows closely the conformation of the crag itself, unlike the later fortifications, which are built in straight lines, and filled up with earth behind. Hence the earlier wall is in many places preserved some yards within the lines of the Cimonian and other later walls, where these project beyond the natural boundary of the Acropolis. Where the natural and artificial boundaries coincide, the primitive fortification wall has been destroyed to make way for the later one. The fragment of the 'Pelasgic' wall previously visible on the top of the Acropolis was that abutting against the south-east corner of the Propylaea, and bounding the temenos of Artemis Brauronia—the wall which enforced Mnesicles to curtail his plan of the Propylaea, and even to cut off a corner of his work so as not to infringe on it. This piece of wall has now

<sup>1</sup> This plan has appeared in June, after this report was written.

been completely laid bare, and has a breadth of nearly twenty feet; it was doubtless carried to a great height on this the only accessible side of the Acropolis. Considerable portions of a similar, but narrower wall have been found close to the Museum, rounding the angle and continuing up the east end of the rock; another piece may still be seen in a deep hole left purposely to show it, opposite the south-west angle of the Parthenon, where it is joined by a later wall we shall afterwards have to refer to. Besides the great walls of fortification, others of similar age have been found, belonging to the houses of the primitive inhabitants. Some such traces were found south-east of the Parthenon, and thinner walls abut against the great wall of the Brauronian temenos. Graves with pottery of the so-called Mycenae type have also been discovered, both within the Museum and elsewhere on the south of the Acropolis: their contents have in no case been of much intrinsic value, but are valuable as a confirmation of the early date of the rough walls. It will be remembered that both houses and graves of primitive period had been found before both to the east and to the west of the Erechtheum.

There does not seem to be any topographical discovery of importance to chronicle between these primitive walls and the time following the Persian invasion. It has been found that when the great basis on which the Parthenon rests was being constructed, a plan was adopted on the south side, where its height above the rock on which it is founded is very great, to avoid the difficulty and expense of an extensive scaffolding. A limestone wall of irregular construction (about twelve metres distant from the basis of the Parthenon at the eastern end, and somewhat nearer at the west) was built between the outer wall of the Acropolis and the structure in course of erection. Thus without too great expenditure of earth, the space between the wall and the basis could be filled up as every few courses were added to the latter. Thus we find at the bottom here a few feet of very early undisturbed earth, containing finds of the 'Mycenae' period; above this is a succession of layers of pottery, fragments, and rubbish, alternating with chips from the construction of the great basement of Piraeus limestone. The articles contained in these layers seem to belong without doubt to the period immediately following the Persian invasion. Most important of all is a thick layer composed of fragments of sculpture in rough stone, with extensive remains of colour; to the interesting groups that have been reconstructed out of these fragments we shall have to recur later. But to their material a few words must be given here, because these fragments, the walls, the basis of the Parthenon, and early architectural fragments are all commonly described as of 'porus' stone. I am not sure whether the material is in all cases the same; but in any case the name is an unfortunate one. The ancient *πῶρος* is by some identified with tufa, by others described now as 'an inferior white marble, lighter than Parian,' now as a 'rough siliceous limestone.' Where a term is so confusing, would it not be better simply to say limestone, if limestone be meant? At present almost every stone on the Acropolis not marble is at once named porus—a description which is neither scientifically accurate nor popularly intelligible.

Where the long supporting wall of polygonal stones joins the fragment of early wall already mentioned, opposite the S.W. corner of the Parthenon a rough staircase is left between the two : this must have served for convenience of access to the various terraces while they were still at different levels—that is to say, before the great ‘Cimonian’ wall was made the boundary of the terrace around the Parthenon, and the whole surface was levelled up to the bottom step of the temple. That this was done later is proved by the fact that to the south of the intermediate supporting wall, between it and the outside wall of the Acropolis, numerous fragments of marble and other materials have been found, which come from a slightly later era in the architectural history of the Acropolis than the filling close to the basis of the Parthenon. Other supporting walls are found to the west of the S.W. angle of the Parthenon ; one of these continues the line of the rock-cut steps, and contains several blocks from the stylobate of the early temple south of the Erechtheum, which has already given rise to so much discussion. These blocks are of the same breadth as the one that remains *in situ*, and are a little too narrow for the columns which Dr. Dörpfeld places on them in his reconstruction. It follows either that none of the blocks were among those on which columns rested, or that Dr. Dörpfeld is mistaken in associating with these foundations the architrave and drums found in the walls and on the top of the Acropolis, or that he has made too large an estimate of the lower diameter, which is only an inference from the preserved upper diameter of the columns.

Between the Parthenon and the S. wall of the Acropolis an oblong building has also been discovered, of rough construction, partly built of rejected drums of the earlier Parthenon. The erection of this building seems to have been contemporary with that of the Parthenon, and it was covered with earth as soon as the Parthenon was finished. The very probable suggestion has been made that this was a workshop used during the construction of the Parthenon. Farther to the west, discoveries have been made in the space formerly called the temenos of Athena Ergane which seem sufficient to show that name to be erroneous. No traces of a temple of any sort were found : but the foundations were discovered of a large building, which backed against the south wall of the Acropolis, and occupied the whole breadth of the terrace, from the rock-cut steps to the edge of the temenos of Artemis Brauronia. It consisted of a great chamber, about 130 feet by 50 feet, with a portico in front, on the north. This was almost certainly a storehouse of some sort, and it has been suggested by Dr. Dörpfeld that we have here at least the true Chalcotheca. When one considers the vast quantities of stores and arms of various kinds which are enumerated by inscriptions as lying in the Chalcotheca, this new building certainly seems far better fitted to contain them than any of the other buildings which have previously been suggested : and there is now no chance of another yet more probable claimant for the name.

In the temenos of Artemis Brauronia, remains have been found of the foundation of porticoes bounding it upon the south and east sides. No trace



of any temple has been found; but anything existing in the middle of the temenos must have been completely destroyed in mediaeval times, when the Propylaea were closed, and the chief path on to the Acropolis was brought round to the south of them, over the primitive wall and through this temenos.

Before leaving this purely topographical portion, we must mention the results of the excavations that have taken place inside the Parthenon. Where the ancient pavement had been moved, a search has been made underneath, and some Christian tombs have been found. The object of these excavations was to discover, if possible, whether the basis of the Parthenon is one solid mass built up of stone, or consists, like the foundations of most other temples, merely of walls of foundation to bear the various walls and rows of columns of the temple, filled in between with rubble. This question cannot yet be said to be finally decided. But it is at least clear that the solid stone structure extends some depth below the pavement of the temple, as at least five layers of stone can be seen in some of the pits—and this in the back chamber, or 'Parthenon' proper, where no especial solidity was required. In the cella a line of foundation has been found beneath the pavement, just south of the northern row of internal columns, and nearly parallel to it. It would serve very well for the foundation designed to bear the interior columns of the earlier Parthenon, which, as is well known, was intended to stand slightly to the south of the position occupied by the present temple.

In the way of architectural fragments there is not very much to chronicle. Portions of various early temples, destroyed doubtless by the Persians, have continued to be found: but they do not differ essentially from those discovered on other parts of the Acropolis, and referred to by Mr. Penrose upon p. 271 of the 1887 volume of this *Journal*. In particular may be mentioned various large capitals, of rough stone covered with stucco, which were found west of the Parthenon, and another portion of a column with spiral flutes, this time from a top drum with the necking, showing that the capital was of the Doric order. Various ionic fragments, of Roman work but obviously copied from the forms of the Erechtheum, have been grouped around the basis of the temple of Roma and Augustus, east of the Parthenon, to which they belong. Some importance attaches to a marble drum prepared for the earlier Parthenon; that is to say, for the building, usually attributed to Cimon, for which the solid basis was originally prepared. This was the bottom drum of a column, and has the flutes, 20 in number, already worked on it at the lower end, the rest being rough: its diameter is nearly the same as that of the columns of the present Parthenon. Thus this drum not only gives us the relative dimensions of the two buildings, but also shows us how far the construction of the earlier temple had progressed before it was superseded. It is of course well known that the flutes were first measured and finished only at the base and capital of a column, and that they were not completed by joining the points thus taken until a later stage, often not until the rest of the building was finished: thus the risk of damage to the sharp and delicate edges of the flutes was avoided.



FIG. 4.

(2) *Sculpture, &c.* Reference has been already made to the so-called 'porus' stratum lying to the south of the basis of the Parthenon—a stratum consisting entirely of pre-Persian fragments of architecture and sculpture, mostly of coarse stone, but a few also of marble and of bronze. The first place among these fragments is taken by the remains of certain large groups, mostly of architectural sculpture, which have been or are still being pieced together. The two small pedimental groups, about 18 feet long, already discovered and published, representing the fights of Heracles with the Hydra and with Triton, have attracted considerable attention: these new groups represent similar subjects, but on a far larger scale. One of these pediments, which, when complete, must have been about 24 feet long, contains, in its right-hand half, a strange monster (see Fig. A). This creature consists of three human bodies, which at the waist pass into snaky coils, and the coils of the three, inextricably entwined, fill the extremity of the pediment: though each body has its two arms, the whole creature has only two wings, on the outside shoulders. The whole composition, as pieced together and restored by Dr. Brückner, is so interesting as to be worth description, though some details of it are as yet uncertain. All three heads have been joined to the monster; two certainly belong, and I think there can be little doubt about the third, though it does not fit exactly, the neck being lost. Two of the heads had already been found last year, and one is figured in this *Journal*, 1888, p. 122, fig. 2; they are remarkable for the colour preserved upon them, especially for their dark blue beards. This monster is probably rightly called Typhon: corresponding to him in the opposite angle is a gigantic snake, with gorgeous scales, carved and painted in brilliant colours. Fragments of other figures, some of them not certainly belonging, show that Zeus with his thunderbolt faced the Typhon, while Heracles attacked the snake. The left-hand half of another pediment shows Heracles wrestling with Triton. The two pediments are remarkable for their vigorous, if grotesque, designs, and for the remarkably short and muscular forms of the body; the colouring too is well preserved, red and blue being chiefly used, the former for the flesh, the latter for hair and drapery. The tails of the various monsters, which afford a fine field for the decorative ingenuity with which their scales are arranged and coloured, serve excellently to fill up the corners of the pediments—always a great difficulty in these architectural groups. This may partly explain the predilection shown for snake-tailed or fish-tailed monsters; but subject and style alike recall the art of Asia Minor, and a similar 'Ionic' influence may be seen in a gigantic group of similar material and colouring, which is now being pieced together, representing two lions, one on each side, devouring a bull which they have pulled down. This composition is about 18 feet long; the lions red, the bull blue, with green hoofs, and red touches inside his ears and elsewhere. Streams of blood, also painted red, flow from the wounds in which the claws of the two lions are fixed. Yet another group represents, on a smaller scale, a lion tearing a bull. All these, and many others, are being ingeniously pieced together in the Acropolis Museum by M. Kalludis.

These great groups were, some of them at least, designed to adorn the

temples of which numerous fragments have also been found, in similar rough stone. The reference of so many of these groups to the exploits of Heracles has led to some surprise, as no special shrine or worship of Heracles on the Acropolis is recorded. The probability of dedications by some distinguished foreigner, himself especially a devotee of Heracles, is at first sight considerable. But we must not anticipate the publication of Dr. Brückner, who has made a special study of these groups and their affinities with some very interesting results.

Beside these great groups the portions of single statues in the same material attract less attention. But some of them are interesting both for their subject and their colouring. Among these may be mentioned a torso of a figure in a tight fitting tunic covered with a skin—possibly an Amazon. The tunic is blue with a red border, and the skin is red. One or two other statues are remarkable for the treatment of the borders of their drapery: the pattern is incised, and portions of it cut out and coloured blue, so as to give the effect of enamel work, and to remind us of various oriental and other early systems of ornamentation.

But for single statues rough limestone is the exceptional, marble the usual material. It would be neither interesting nor profitable to enumerate all the fragments discovered, without a detailed description and discussion which would extend far beyond the limits of a report like the present. Here only the more important can be mentioned. In the first place, important pieces have been added to some well known statues. The Moschophorus has some portions of his thigh recovered: to the colossal Athena from the great archaic pediment with a gigantomachy a shoulder has been pieced on. Thus the connexion of the well-known head, found long before, and first joined on by Dr. Studniczka, is confirmed; but a careful examination of the joint at the back did not leave room for doubt before, though the join was not at first sight a probable one. The feet and lower part of the flying drapery, which very probably belong to the same statue, have also been found. Fragments have also been found of the largest of the now famous female statues, joining her knees to her feet, and thus showing that, as Dr. Studniczka had ingeniously inferred from a fragment of the pattern on the drapery, those feet do belong to the statue. Whether the feet should be joined to the basis with the name of Antenor is quite another matter; the evidence for and against this, as being too controversial for a general report, is added in a note at the end. Another join, made in the Acropolis Museum, at the suggestion of an article published in the German *Mittheilungen*, of 1880, is now proved to be wrong: a head of distinctly later style had been affixed to the torso of a boy found near the museum. Now the true head, which fits exactly, has been found in the same region (between the museum and the south wall), and the other head has been removed to make room for it. Fortunately the surface of the break had not been cut away. This instance affords a practical warning against joins and restorations not absolutely certain, which will, it may be hoped, have a good influence in the future. The new head is in itself interesting, the eyes are hollowed out, and the hair rolled back in a



FIG. B.

peculiar manner over the forehead, and there is much individuality about the style.

Bodies have also been found to fit two of the most interesting heads previously discovered. One of the statues thus nearly completed is very remarkable for the preservation of the colouring on the drapery; here, as in all other cases, we find the colour upon borders and spots of the dress, or upon the whole of a garment when only a small piece of it shows. But in hardly any cases do we find such a mass of colour as to obscure the beautiful colour and texture of the marble itself, which are only enhanced by the addition of colour to details. Another torso, which has been found in the most recent excavations (21st May), inside the so-called Pinacotheca in the north wing of the Propylaea, fits exactly a small head which had been found before, but had hardly attracted the attention it deserved (see Fig. *B*). While it has not lost the archaic smile so characteristic of the early Attic statues, it has perhaps more than any other developed it into an expression which gives a remarkable individuality and attractiveness to the face. The treatment of the hair too shows the transition from convention to freedom. But details of style must not here detain us. Two or three more of the well-known female statues have either been found or pieced together, so that a goodly array of them now nearly fills two large rooms of the Acropolis Museum. Especially interesting is a head of the more advanced archaic style, which wears instead of the usual simple band upon the hair a high diadem or *polus*, ornamented below with *maeander*, and above with a band of lotus and palmetto, both painted. The torso of another floating victory has been found, of a type similar to those previously known, and discussed by Professor Petersen in the *Mittheilungen* of 1887. An Athena, headless, has an archaic type of aegis with a bearded gorgon's head affixed to it. Another gorgon's head in coarse marble is flattened at the back and is remarkable for its size and preservation (see Fig. *C*). It has been supposed to belong to a metope; perhaps more probably it was merely an independent architectural ornament. The eye-balls, like those of some of the rough stone heads, are indicated by a circle traced with a compass, and then doubtless coloured. A marble bearded head, doubtless early, but strongly resembling the well-known type of the archaistic and conventional bearded *Hermæ*, has the beard coloured green, perhaps once blue. This reminds us of the other early works, in which the flesh is usually coloured red, the hair and other adjuncts blue. Of very primitive appearance is a round basis on which stand six draped figures facing outwards. The upper part of them is not preserved, but they doubtless supported a table or vessel of some sort; one is inevitably reminded of the crater resting on three statues made by the old Samian bronze-founders; though size and material were different enough, the use of statues as supports to a vessel is common to both. Last, but not least, among archaic works must be mentioned a marble relief, which represents three draped female figures advancing hand in hand in dancing rhythm; before them walks a man piping, and the last of them is followed by a child, whom she leads by the hand. It is easier to suggest interpretations for this group than to fix upon the right one. The colouring

is well preserved; the back-ground is blue; the hair of all is red, except that of the first of the three dancers, which is brown. Brown and red also alternate in the dress, the three dancers all wearing a long brown chiton, and a red scarf thrown over their shoulders. This scarf is only sculpturally represented by a flat surface, the wavy lines of the under garment being discontinued; the rest is left to colour. This is an indication that may help us



FIG. C.

to distinguish the drapery in other cases where the colour has totally disappeared.

While this year has not fallen behind its predecessors in archaic finds, it has certainly surpassed them in works of the finest period; two of the great architectural sculptures of the great period of Athens have been enriched by important additions. To the Erechtheum frieze has been added another seated female figure, with rich drapery; the head is unfortunately

lost; at the back this figure shows the usual flat surface for attachment to the background of black Eleusinian marble. To the Parthenon frieze, as is already well known, has been added the head of Iris from the block with the seated figures of Zeus and Hera. The wing beside the head on the fragment points it out as undoubtedly belonging to the only winged figure in the frieze; and the head exactly joins the shoulders preserved on the block in the British Museum, as was found by adjusting it to the cast in Athens; a cast of the head has been sent to London, so that it will now be possible to enjoy the study of the complete block in London also. Dr. Waldstein was the first to recognize the head after its discovery and to fit it into its true place, though M. Cabbadias had assigned it to the Parthenon frieze, as he has the other figure to the frieze of the Erechtheum. Another very beautiful work is a relief of which the significance is and is likely to remain an unsolved problem. It is of the severe style of the latter part of the fifth century, and represents Athena, clad only in a chiton with diplois and a Corinthian helmet (see Fig. *D*). She leans upon her spear and looks down, as if in mourning, upon a plain square pillar. Some addition, probably in painting, must have shown what this pillar represented. To our modern notions, it would seem natural enough that the people should be represented in its patron goddess, mourning over a tomb-stone; and such a representation would seem peculiarly appropriate to the disasters of the later years of the Peloponnesian war—the probable period of this relief. But it may be seriously doubted whether such a mode of representation would commend itself to the taste or the reverence of a Greek artist of the fifth century. Neither does the goddess appear, as has been suggested, to be guarding a battlement. Her attitude rather suggests dejection than watchfulness, and a more conventional and less realistic battlement would probably have been made, if such was the meaning. It is safest to leave the interpretation uncertain, and to content ourselves with appreciating the beauty of the relief. Another relief, found close to the last, forms the head-piece of a decree between Athens and Samos to which we must recur in speaking of the inscriptions. It represents Athena grasping in solemn league the hand of a dignified and matronly figure with a sceptre, who is probably Hera, the patron goddess of Samos. This is one of the best and best preserved reliefs of its kind, and is important because it can be dated to the year 403 B.C. Of later and inferior work is a statue of a crouching youth, with a chlamys over one shoulder.

Some interesting bronzes have also been found. Among these the largest and most interesting, though certainly the most hideous, is a gorgon cut out of a flat plate of bronze, about 15 inches long, affixed to a bar that forms the diameter (about 36 inches) of a ring of thin bronze plate: the whole appears to be the remains either of a shield or of some circular vessel. The treatment of the gorgon is remarkable; it is a mere flat piece of metal cut out, with all details added in incised lines. Thus, merely in technique, it is transitional between the remarkable relief, or rather cut out plate, of a criophorus and another figure from Crete, now in the Louvre, and the Athena in very flat relief on both sides of a thin plate which is now in the Acropolis



Museum (the legs of a precisely similar companion figure to this Athena have now been found). Among other small bronzes are an archaic centaur



FIG. D.

and a youthful charioteer in a vigorous and natural posture, restraining his horses and leaning forward over them; the work on his body is remarkably

fine; in style and in attitude he strongly resembles the bronze representing perhaps an older charioteer (sometimes called Baton) now at Tübingen.

The numerous vase fragments found in the recent diggings must not be altogether passed over here, though they can only be mentioned. The importance of a careful record and study of those found in strata that could be positively dated has been fully recognized; and the results, which are somewhat startling, will soon be published by Dr. Graf, of the German School. It is disconcerting to many preconceived notions to hear that not only black-figured fragments of careless work, such as are often called archaistic, but also red-figured fragments of the rough and careless style usually assigned to later and provincial factories, have been found in strata that cannot have been disturbed since shortly after the Persian invasion. I may add that a portion of a vase certainly manufactured at Naucratis has been found—the only one of the finest Naucratite style that I know to have been found outside Naucratis itself.

(3) *Inscriptions.* Here, even more than in the case of sculpture, it would be unprofitable to give a mere enumeration, or even to give the text of the more important inscriptions. For these the *Δελτίον* itself must be consulted, where the inscriptions are admirably edited by Dr. Lolling. Here only the substance of a few of the most interesting can be noticed. Some excitement was caused last summer by the announcement that parts of two new inscriptions relative to the building of the Erechtheum had been found. Their chief importance lies in the distinction made between the two pediments of the building; the western one is called *ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου αἱετός*. Thus it is proved also that the west end did terminate in a gable. Otherwise not much new is learnt from the inscription, beyond the technical names of several stones, of which the architectural position can be inferred; the wages paid to stone-masons and to carpenters are recorded. Another inscription which contains regulations and also orders for the repairs of the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos is important not only for its subject-matter, but because its discovery at the west end of the Acropolis, in the wall between the Victory bastion and the 'Beulé-gate,' may give an additional clue to the position of the temple to which it refers. Other inscriptions found in the same region refer to the Thesmothesion and the grotto of Pan.

Inscriptions referring to artists or works of art are, as before, numerous. A fragment has been found joining on to C. I. A. iv. 2. 373-7, showing the names of Endoeus and Philermus as artists on the same basis, and both in the Ionic alphabet. Thus the Ionic origin of Endoeus is confirmed. Another inscription is almost certainly to be restored—*Περικλέους, Κρησίλας ἐποίηι*. The basis of the statue is small; and the character seems to show it is a private dedication. An inscription with the name of Hegias as artist omits the H in his name.

The most interesting in this department is an inscription giving an account of the gold and ivory bought for the great statue of Athena Parthenos in one year. Portions of similar annual accounts had been found before, but none with the figures clearly enough preserved for many inferences to be

drawn from them. In this year the gold bought was of the weight of 6 talents 1518 drachmas, and of the (silver) value of 87 talents 4652 drachmas. The ivory cost 2 talents 743 drachmas. Hence may be deduced the proportion of silver to gold, 1 : 14·037; and the total value of the gold upon the statue, which weighed 44 talents (according to Philochorus; 40 in Thucydides), must have been worth about £155,000. It is also clear that the buying of the materials and also probably the making of the statue must have extended over several years. Several inscriptions of political importance may be briefly mentioned; among these are portions of the treaty between Athens and Perdiccas in 423 B.C., and some lists of tributaries, one including those from Thrace, another giving for the first time a list of the cities in the Cnidian Chersonese. A fragment of the important decree concerning the Salaminian cleruchs affects the reading of the first two or three lines. The decree which is headed by the relief already noticed is most interesting. It grants various privileges to the Samians, who remained faithful to Athens during the disasters that closed the Peloponnesian war. The decree immediately below the relief must have been passed between the battle of Aegospotami and the capture of Athens, and it grants to the Samians right of citizenship, allows them to use certain triremes left at Samos, and otherwise endeavours to make up to them for the great dangers and difficulties that surrounded the last allies of a losing cause. To this decree are appended two others previously found: the whole was inscribed after the expulsion of the 'thirty tyrants,' the earlier copy having probably been destroyed by them. Fragments of treasure lists, &c., need not here detain us. A very archaic block with *ὁ δέῖνα ἀνέθηκεν ταμείων* seems to have stood in front of the treasury. Of special interest is a fragment of an inscription referring to Phayllus, thrice victor at the Pythian games. This is the very man said to have done the marvellous record of 55 feet for the long jump and 95 for throwing the discus. Unfortunately the stone makes no reference to these feats. It would be easy to lengthen this list of inscriptions; but it is fully time for us to leave the Acropolis, and pass on to Athens and the rest of Greece.

In the great Theatre of Dionysus, pits and trenches have been sunk by the German Institute. The results, which do not appear to be considerable, have not yet been published; some curious square shafts cut in the solid rock have been found in the upper part of the cavea; they appear to be either wells or early tombs. The position of the Roman agora is confirmed by the discovery, near the 'Agora gate' of a marble arch with an inscription, from the front portico of the Agoranomium of Herodes Atticus.

In laying out the new gardens between the Olympieum and the Palace Gardens, in front of the exhibition building, where some discoveries, including dedications to Hadrian and a Roman mosaic were found last year, a nude statue of a youth has also been discovered, of the type usually recognised as Pasitelean.

A discovery of tombstones in a house in the Street of the Muses, west of the Place de la Constitution (*Σύνταγμα*) seems to prove, as Dr. Dörpfeld has pointed out, that in Greek times the wall of the town must have passed

still farther to the west, and that the region of the *Σύνταγμα* was included in the part added by Hadrian. The tombstones may, as Dr. Dörpfeld suggests, have been placed just outside the Gate of Diochares. A portion of the long walls near the Piræus has also been laid bare.

At the Piræus, the discovery of the year has been the site of the Asclepieæum. In some works near the summer theatre Tsolia, was found the upper part of a large statue of Asclepius. The face, which has the eyes hollowed out, is a fine example of the mild and benevolent type usually given to the god. In consequence excavations were undertaken upon the site in July by the Greek government, under the direction of M. Dragatsis. In the course of a week various fragments of statues and reliefs of Asclepius and Hygieia were found, as well as more fragments of the first statue, including his hand with portions of the snake. Inscriptions were found to Asclepius *ὑπὲρκοος*, and Zeus Philios. These indications are topographically important: the statue of Asclepius has been removed to the National Museum in Athens. At Eleusis, yet more space has been cleared by the Greek Archaeological Society, under the able direction of M. Philios. It has at last been possible to remove the private house that occupied the space south-west of the Great Propylæa; and under it has been found a building, probably for public purposes. Its chief interest lies in the frescoes upon its walls, which, though broken in parts, have the colours excellently preserved. In one panel is Zeus seated upon a throne, in two others cattle and pigs, drawn with considerable spirit. These frescoes are interesting from the extreme scarcity of mural paintings found in Greece itself, though they do not, in the opinion of their discoverer, belong to an earlier time than that of Hadrian. They are excellently reproduced from drawings of M. Gilliéron in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* of 1889. In the extreme south of the sacred enclosure, between the angle and the museum, the ground has also been cleared, showing the foundations of porticoes and also of a building with a semi-circular apsis, identified as the Buleuterium. M. Philios has published a short account and a plan of Eleusis which will prove of the greatest service to all who visit the site. Among the antiquities from Eleusis recently transported to the National Museum in Athens are a fine architectural ram's head, with traces of colour, and a very interesting set of small marble figures. One group of these, a seated man with his arm round the neck of a kneeling girl, is an unmistakable copy from the well-known group still remaining on the western pediment of the Parthenon. Another is a seated draped figure, holding a child in her lap; it is tempting to identify this figure too, with one in Carrey's drawing. In any case the interest of these figures is extremely high, both for the record they give and the expectations which they raise that copies of the Parthenon pediment are not beyond hope. Fortunately these figures were discovered under proper supervision; and so their authenticity is beyond suspicion.

At Tanagra a very large number of tombs has been opened by M. Koromantsos, under the direction of the Ephorate: the description of the various graves is given with abundant detail in the *Δελτίον*, but does not seem to offer any new or striking results. Of course a vast quantity of

statuettes has been found, of all styles, qualities, and periods, and also many vases; the most interesting bears the signature *Μῦς ἔγραψεν*, and this Mys has been not improbably identified with the famous *τορευτῆς* of the shield of the Athena Parthenos. The vase is a red-figured lecythus of the finest style, with figures of Artemis, Apollo, Hermes, and Leto. A phiale with a crouching hoplite has the signature of Phintias.

At Mycenae, M. Tsountas has been excavating for the Greek Archaeological Society. His results in graves of the Mycenae period are very remarkable. From July to November the work has continued with the varying success that usually attends a search for early tombs. Cylinders, 'island gems,' ivory carvings, vitreous plaques, and bronze articles, including a fibula, have been found in considerable numbers. This fibula is the first proved exception to the commonly made statement that such articles are not found in 'Mycenae' graves. A vase with dark glaze, and incised ornaments filled in with a white substance, is also new, and seems to form a connecting link between the early pottery of Mycenae and those of Hissarlik and Cyprus. The most interesting of all is a silver phiale with one handle, ornamented with gold inlaid patterns; round the rim too are a number of gold bearded masks in profile, inlaid by a kind of damascening work; two of these masks were found attached to their original places, and four others were in the tomb. A cylinder of black stone has four figures, three of which are the peculiar 'horse-headed' monsters that have attracted so much attention; on a gem of vitreous paste are two monsters, lion-bodied and with nondescript heads, with their fore-paws on a basis like the lions over the gate at Mycenae. Some excavations have also been made with a view to clearing completely the very important pre-historic house upon the top of the hill at Mycenae.

At Old Epidaurus, M. Stais also has been opening pre-historic tombs, at the expense of the Government. They consist of round chambers cut in the rock, with the entrance built up. Where the graves were undisturbed, one 'Mycenae' vase and one spear head were found with each body. One grave seemed to have been used repeatedly in these early times. A bronze fibula was found also in one of the early tombs at Epidaurus.

Next to the Greek Government and Archaeological Society, the chief share in the excavations of the year has been taken by the French School at Athens. It has not only continued its excavations at Delos, Acraephium (Apollo Ptous), and Mantinea, but has also discovered and partly explored the Hieron of the Muses on the slope of Mount Helicon. In Delos one or two more statues and inscriptions, including more of the sacred archives, have been found. One of the portrait heads found by M. Deschamps in Amorgos, that of a woman with an ivy wreath, of very fine Roman work, has been brought to the National Museum at Athens, as also have two heads from the same island, supposed to represent Asclepius and Hygieia.

At the temple of Apollo Ptous, a circular building, supposed to be the Tholus of Apollo, and some more parts of statues and bronzes have been found; but M. Holleaux' discovery of the year is an inscription, found in the church of St. George at Karditza. This contains a decree embodying a copy

of the speech made by Nero at Corinth, conferring freedom upon the Greeks; it has been already published in the *Bulletin* for December, 1888; the stone has now been taken to the museum at Thebes.

At Mantinea, M. Fougères has found the base of a semi-circular building thirty-eight metres in diameter, called in an inscription previously discovered *Κύκλος ὁ πρὸς τὸ γυμνάσιον*, a double portico probably belonging to the gymnasium, and various inscriptions and theatre tickets; in June also the foundation of a temple 19.50 m.  $\times$  7 m. was found. The work was stopped for the summer and resumed in November; a marble statue of Telesphorus was then discovered and sent to the National Museum at Athens; the rest of the discoveries remain at Tripolitza.

In the Valley of the Muses, near Thespieae, a theatre and several temple sites have come to light; one of these seems to be the Temple of the Muses; architectural fragments show it to have been of the Ionic order. The theatre, which is situated higher up the hill, so that the seats commanded a splendid panorama, is of interest from the preservation of its proscenium consisting of fourteen Doric columns, doubtless joined by panels as in the theatre at Oropus. Here again there can hardly have been any raised stage. The columns are too high to be the supports of one; and a low structure raised in front of them would be very unsightly. The work, which was stopped for the winter in December, was resumed at the end of April, when the rest of the theatre and temple sites were to be explored; the excavations are in charge of M. Jamot.

The American School has been working in Attica and Boeotia. Some supplementary excavations at Dionysos (Icaria) led to no important results; but at Old Stamata, on a site suggested by Mr. Buck, inscriptions of the decree of Plotheia were found and also a female draped statue, archaic or possibly archaistic. Trials have also been made at Anthedon, where a large building of uncertain purpose, perhaps a warehouse or market, was found close to a harbour and extensive quay, and outside the town several grave inscriptions and an interesting set of bronze tools were discovered. Trials were also made at Thisbe, and at Plataea. The last is said to be a promising site; an inscription has already been found there containing a portion of the Edict of Diocletian.

Smaller excavations have taken place upon various sites. On Mt. Lycone M. Kophiniotos thinks he has discovered the temple of Artemis Orthia. Excavating with a grant from the Government, he found a peribolus, clay tiles with anthemias, lions' heads of clay and marble, parts of the arm and thigh of a large statue, and also a small female statue; these have all been sent to the Argos Museum. At Korythium in Arcadia, on the road from Tripolitza to Myloi (Lerna), on the slopes of Mt. Artemisium, have been found a stela, bases, statues and statuettes of Artemis, within the parallelogram of an ancient building; these have been taken to Tripolitza. I copy these two statements from the *Δελτίον*. They look like two records of the same fact; but apparently are not so.

This is not the place to give a complete catalogue of isolated discoveries;

those that are of sufficient importance to be chronicled may be found in the list of antiquities brought into the National Museum during the year, included in the *Δελτίον*.

It will be noticed that the British School is not among those that have excavated in Greece this year, its resources in this direction have again been spent upon Cyprus, where the tomb-site of Poli tes Chrysochou and the temple, if it be such, at Limniti have been explored; of these excavations a full account will be given in the proper place. In Greece the important work of making a fairly complete set of accurate drawings to full scale of Greek mouldings of the best period has been undertaken, and in great part carried out, by Mr. Schultz, who has been sent out by the School for this purpose.

## II.—*Museums and Administration.*

The museums of Athens are now passing through a change which will ultimately greatly add to their excellence, though it does not at present conduce to facilities of study: but one ought to be thankful for the great improvements that are being made, and not to complain of the temporary inconvenience that is inevitable. On the Acropolis, the opening of the new museum will be a great advantage to students. At present it is the receptacle for unarranged, or only roughly arranged fragments of all sorts; but doubtless such of these as are of interest to others than specialists will be mounted and exhibited in the open museum; and then the new museum will fulfil the purpose for which it was built and which it partly performs at present, and will become a place for students to enjoy special facilities for the study of the numerous 'minor antiquities' that have been found. Stability has not yet found its way into the arrangement of the larger Acropolis Museum; but now that the whole of the space has been excavated, and no more acquisitions are to be looked for, we may hope that some final disposition will be made. Great progress has already been made in piecing together and mounting the great groups that have been discovered. Those who last year regarded the museum as a mine of archaeological wealth would indeed be astonished at the acquisitions that have still farther increased it. The numerous cases of vase-fragments offer a most fascinating field for study, which is as yet only to a small extent occupied. The arrangement of the early architectural fragments, mostly in the new museum, has been undertaken by Dr. Kawerau, and his results will be awaited with the greatest interest. In piecing together statues and groups much has been done, but much still remains: it is only to be hoped that a due caution will be observed in joins and restorations.

Of special importance and difficulty are the measures to be taken for the preservation and cleaning of bronzes and coloured sculpture in the Acropolis Museum. As that collection is in one at least of these respects absolutely unique, it is of the highest importance to archaeology that these measures should be the most efficient attainable. M. Cabbadias has fully realized this,

and has referred the question to a commission of chemical specialists, who have experimented upon fragments, and given the following replies. They are given in detail in the *Δελτίον* for December, 1888; but seem of sufficient importance to be at least summarised here, both for the guidance of others and for criticism of any defective points in the system adopted.

“1. *Question*.—How can we preserve bronze statues from oxidation?

“*Answer*.—Clean as below, and protect surface from the air by a resinous solution, as below.

“2. *Question*—How can we clean them, so as to avoid all oxidation in future?

“*Answer*.—If they are in fair condition, they will only have a green or blue incrustation; if bad, they will have red also.

“In the first case, immerse for some time in tepid water or a solution of soap (1:20) or potash, and clean with brush and water. When dry, anoint with resinous solution (15 parts of resin to 130 of pure benzol, and add 20 parts white poppy-oil and 180 parts turpentine).

“For bronzes in bad condition, weak hydrochloric acid is necessary (1:10 of water); immerse repeatedly, and wash between with water and brush; then place in solution of potash (1:100); after six to twelve hours clean with water and clean brush, immerse again, and so on. Then put in solution of soap (1:20), dry, and anoint with resinous solution (sandarach 50, spirits of wine 400, turpentine 80, oil of turpentine 10).

“The soap produces a chestnut-coloured surface, which is however necessary to preservation, though changing the appearance of the object.’

Be it remarked here, that the bronzes thus treated in the Acropolis Museum have a very unpleasant sticky-looking surface; this may be an improvement, with a view to preservation, on the methods used in other museums where there are bronzes; whether it be so, experts or time alone can decide. In any case it at present greatly disfigures them.

“3. *Question*.—How can we clean coloured marble and ‘porus’ statues, and preserve the colour retained by them?

“*Answer*.—Clean only with a brush, and a sharp bit of wood for corners, &c.

“For preservation, materials must be considered. Red is usually oxide of iron; a lighter and finer colour is cinnabar, or red sulphide of mercury.

“Blue is basic carbonate of copper. Green is hydroxide of copper with traces of oxide of iron.

“Of these cinnabar is affected by light.

“For fixing to the surface, use ‘hydrohyalus,’ *i.e.*, solution of calcined soda, applied by a syringe. This makes the colours a little darker. It should be applied to the whole of ‘porus’ sculptures; only to the coloured portions of marble.

“The hydrohyalus used is a solution of calcined soda (*πυριτικὸν νατρίον*) of the German pharmacopoea, in the proportion 1:2 of water.’

(I must apologize to chemists if my translation of the technical parts of the above is inadequate)



As regards the Acropolis generally, a commission especially summoned of the Directors of Foreign Schools, in consultation with M. Cabbadias, was of opinion that the Acropolis should as far as possible be left in its present condition, without farther arrangement, &c. The demolition of all the later walls at the western end of the Acropolis had already been almost completed. It was approved by a similar commission in 1884, when, however, the British School had not yet a representative. After one or two smaller pieces of clearing or alteration have been completed, it may be hoped that the Acropolis will once more regain its appearance of picturesque ruin, and become again an object not only for the study of the archaeologist, but for the admiration of all that pass by.

The Central Museum (*Κεντρικὸν Μουσεῖον*) has officially changed its name to the National Archaeological Museum (*Ἐθνικὸν Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Μουσεῖον*), and will be known in future by that title. It is being very extensively enlarged; not only has the whole quadrangle been completed, but a central wing, with side galleries, has been built across from the main entrance to the back; this is designed to serve as an antiquarium, for lesser antiquities, bronzes, terra-cottas, vases, &c. All important inscriptions are also being gathered together in the National Museum, under Dr. Lolling, who has entered the service of the Greek Government to take charge of them. The coins in the same collection have been arranged and examined by Dr. Pick, who was sent for from Berlin expressly for this purpose. Meanwhile the only rooms open even to students without special permission are those of the front to the left of the entrance and the adjoining left wing. The acquisitions of the museum for the past year are considerable; besides those already referred to may be mentioned two sepulchral stelae from Thespiae, both of which have inscriptions of Roman period; but the style shows the finest Greek period, so that they obviously must have been adapted and used a second time. One of an athlete standing to the right, with only a chlamys hanging back over his shoulder, in low relief, distinguishes itself even in this museum by the excellence of its work, which can hardly be later than the fifth century. The sculptures from the Asclepieum in Athens have also been removed from the temporary guard-house to the National Museum.

The Polytechnic Museum has been enriched by the discoveries from Mycenae already enumerated; the collection has also been made even more interesting by the exhibition of the frescoes from the prehistoric palaces at Mycenae and Tiryns. The vase collection fully retains its unrivalled position, especially for the primitive classes of Greek pottery, Attic, Boeotian, &c. The great Melian amphorae are also mounted now in conspicuous positions. The arrangement of the whole, under the able direction of M. Koumanoudes, remains a model, to which one may hope that in time the other museums of Athens may attain, as soon as they have digested their ever accumulating acquisitions.

Reference has already been made in several places to the restless and indefatigable activity of M. Cabbadias, the general ephor of antiquities.

The numerous excavations undertaken by the Government, and the wonderful progress made in the construction and arrangement of museums, would alone be sufficient to testify to the excellence of his administration; and all who have been working in Athens or elsewhere in Greece must record their thanks to him for the liberality with which he has always granted them every help and facility.

The invaluable *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* has already been mentioned and quoted; but under this head it must once more be praised. It leaves hardly anything to be desired in completeness and accuracy, under the editorship of M. Cabbadias, with the help of Dr. Lolling for the inscriptions. If one improvement be possible, it would be that the *Δελτίον* might appear near to the end of each month it records, instead of two or three months later. Such an improvement is doubtless difficult, but it would greatly increase the value of such a publication.

### III.—*Byzantine Art and Antiquities.*

This is practically a new branch of archaeology in Athens, so far as official recognition by the Government and the Foreign Schools is concerned. But many, especially in England, will be glad to hear that it is at last taking its due place. The Greek Government has made grants, inadequate indeed, but still showing a wish to do what is possible, towards the repair of two of the finest Byzantine buildings in Greece—the monasteries of Daphne and St. Luke of Stiris. The Church of St. Andreas in Athens has also been railed in and protected from further dilapidation, though the refectory attached to it, with the finest frescoes, still remains a third-rate eating-house, and is in great danger of damage; the walls are covered with whitewash. At Daphne the dome has been temporarily repaired, but architects will not yet pronounce it safe in case of more earthquakes, and so the splendid mosaics which it contains are still in danger. The authorities intended their removal bodily to the National Museum, to escape this risk; it may be hoped that some measures may be found to ensure their safety without their removal from the position for which they were designed. Meanwhile the scaffolding erected in the dome has afforded exceptional facility for study and reproductions both by photography and drawing; advantage has been taken of this both by Dr. Strzygowski and by members of the British School. At St. Luke of Stiris the outer narthex, a later addition, has been removed: the two churches there, which are of wonderful beauty, are in great need of repair both inside and out, to prevent their becoming yet more dilapidated. It is to be hoped that this will be done in a satisfactory manner. This seems the fitting place to mention also another undertaking of the British School—a set of plans and elevations of the principal Byzantine churches in Greece, with copies of their frescoes and mosaics. These buildings, many of which are very beautiful, and all of them interesting, have been hitherto undeservedly neglected, no correct plans or drawings of them having been published.

Two students of the British School, Mr. Schultz and Mr. Barnsley, have

already done one year's work at this subject, and it is hoped that another season will see the undertaking completed, when an adequate publication will follow.

A collection of Byzantine antiquities is now being also made in the National Museum at Athens; on all sides it is becoming clear that Byzantine as well as classical art is to be recognized as one of the studies of which Athens is the centre.

E. A. GARDNER.

May 23th, 1889.

NOTE—The connexion of the basis with the name of Antenor and the statue set upon it by Dr. Studniczka is now generally accepted, and further theories are being built upon it. It has even been defended in the official section of the Athenian *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute, 1888, p. 226, against the doubt expressed in the *Builder*, 1888, p. 261, and it has been confirmed by the addition of fragments joining indisputably the feet and the body. It is stated that here only was there before any room for doubt, for it is proved that the feet belong to this basis 'by the size and shape of the socket, the thickness of the plinth, and the size and position of the vertical dowel-hole.'

I am in no way responsible for the statement in the *Builder*, but I fully agreed with its writer, and I hope I shall not be considered a captious critic if I state once more two or three facts, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, and which must at least be explained before the connexion is beyond doubt. It is the very importance of the discovery which makes it doubly necessary to test thoroughly the evidence on which it is based.

I adopt the above excellent summary of Dr. Studniczka's arguments. It was not the connexion of the feet and torso that I previously doubted, especially as I understood that a fragment of the same pattern appeared on both: but for the connexion of the feet and the pedestal I saw no sufficient evidence. I will briefly state the evidence for and against this.

(1) The size of the socket. It is true that this socket is the only preserved one big enough for this statue: but many statues lack sockets, and many sockets lack statues on the Acropolis. So all gained by this is a remote probability.

(2) The shape of the socket. For this I cannot do better than refer to Dr. Studniczka's own drawing in the *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 136, which gives an adequate representation of the shape of the socket and of the feet. It will be seen that there is no question of fitting even approximately. The fragment with the two feet stands quite clear of the edge of the socket on every side; but as there placed, the feet can be fitted into the shape required. Now where the plinth of a statue does belong to a pedestal, as in several cases on the Acropolis, the fit is always perfectly exact. Of course as the plinth here is broken away on every side, its not fitting is no argument against its belonging; but on the other hand the argument from the shape of the socket becomes a very weak one.

(3) The thickness of the plinth. This is equal to the depth of the socket; but this is a very slight indication; many sockets and many plinths could be found of the same depth: and moreover, in several preserved instances the thickness of the plinth is much greater than the depth of the socket.

(4) The size of the vertical dowel-hole. This does correspond in both cases: but the size of a dowel-hole for fixing a statue is not very variable.

(5) The position of the dowel-hole. This would be the strongest indication of all, if the holes on the plinth and the basis really were opposite one another. But as the statue is now mounted the holes are not opposite, but an inch and a half distant from one another: and this is not merely a mistake in mounting. Of this more anon.

I think I have stated fairly all the arguments for the connexion. They were enough to make me think before that the association of the statue with Antenor, though not sufficiently proved to base further arguments upon, was at least possible, or even probable. But my attention having again been called to the matter by the assertion of a friend that the connexion was impossible, I again investigated it with the following results.

Though the statue has been mounted on the basis, casts of the plinth with the feet and of the top of the basis have been left in the museum for the study of the evidence; this is a proceeding that cannot be too highly commended; if it be done in every case when a doubtful joint is made up, there will be comparatively little objection to mounting the statues thus. I inserted a vertical stick into the two dowel-holes, so as to fix one above the other in the only admissible position, if they do belong, and the result was startling. There is only room, measuring from the heel to the edge of the socket, for a foot 10 inches long, and there certainly is not room for the rest of the feet of which the heels are preserved. Now the statue is 80 inches high, and the proportion 1 : 8 for the foot of an archaic statue is absurd; the proportion is usually greater than 1 : 7: thus a statue—the only one of this set with its feet perfect—40 inches high, has feet 6 inches long: at the same rate we should expect feet 12 inches long for this statue. Or if 10 inches were enough, the argument from the size of the basis disappears. At least one other basis with feet 10 inches long attached to it remains.

But I need not repeat indications like this. If any unprejudiced observer will set the plinth with the feet on the cast of the socket, so that the vertical holes coincide, he will see that there is not room for the feet to be completed. The best proof of this is that in mounting the statue on the basis it has been found necessary to set the feet an inch and a half farther back: even then there is no room to spare in front of the toes. And now that new fragments of the front of the basis with the inscription have been found and fitted in, it cannot be suggested that the socket was cut away farther in front.

In spite of this, I should hardly like to assert that the connexion of statue and basis is quite impossible. The dowel-holes may never have been used for fixing, or their failure to correspond may be in some way explicable.

But the evidence that the statue belongs to the Antenor basis is so much weakened that the connexion, even if possible, is hardly probable; above all, it certainly cannot be used as an established fact on which to base farther discussion.

I greatly regret, as must all who are interested in the early history of art, if it be necessary to give up what appeared to be a fixed point gained amidst so much vagueness and uncertainty. But I think that, after making the above measurements, I should not be advancing the cause of archaeology if I suppressed them.

E. A. G.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

‘Das Gräberfeld von Marion auf Cypern.’ (*Achtundvierzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der archaeol. Gesellsch. zu Berlin.*) PAUL HERRMANN. Berlin. 1888.

DR. HERRMANN has attempted the difficult task of publishing the results of an excavation in which he took no part, on a site to which he is a stranger, and with the products of which he has only a partial and imperfect acquaintance. Had he kept himself more strictly within the limits of his information, had he been more careful to recognize and point out the tentative character of his conclusions, had he more clearly set forth the exact data on which they are based, he might have claimed credit for a work less novel perhaps and pretentious, but more practically useful. As it is, we fear the essay before us may tend to the worse confusion of the already too perplexed archaeology of Cyprus.

The first section aims at corroborating and supplementing, from the evidence of the excavations and topography, the literary evidence which goes to show that in the immediate neighbourhood of Polis tes Chrysochou lay not only the ancient Arsinoe, but also the more ancient Marion. Dr. Herrmann rightly reduces the three necropoleis of his informant to two, a western, immediately adjoining the modern village on the S.E. and an eastern, about three quarters of a mile to the E. The tombs are divided into three classes by certain distinctive varieties of form. The first class, extending in date into the fifth century B.C., is found to lie *exclusively* in the eastern necropolis, the second, which begins in the fourth century, is distributed between the two necropoleis, but is especially typical of the western, the third, of Hellenistic-Roman date, also appears in both, but mostly in the eastern. Moreover in the eastern necropolis the tombs of the first class lie farthest to the east, those of the third class to the west, for the former bear uniformly high numbers in the register, the latter low, and according to Dr. Herrmann's fixed preconception the excavation progressed always from west to east. On p. 7 the conjecture is hazarded that the two necropoleis may have been really continuous, and by p. 12 the conjecture has assumed the authority of *a priori* truth. Herr Richter is now invoked to vouch for the existence at the N.W. corner of the eastern necropolis of the remains of a settlement distinct from that to the north of Polis tes Chrysochou, and bearing ‘an essentially older character.’ Here, Dr. Herrmann argues, we have the site of Marion, the necropolis of which spread westwards until the destruction of the city at the end of the fourth century. A few years later, for the continuity of development in the finds precludes a longer interval, Arsinoe was founded farther to the west, and accordingly (*danach*) the ruins north of the village represent Arsinoe, the necropolis of which worked back

over that of Marion in the reverse direction. Let us work back over Dr. Herrmann's argument. (1) The site north of the village is known by epigraphical evidence to be Arsinoe. Dr. Herrmann's inference is as needless as it is illogical. (2) To detect a gap of two or three generations in Cypriote pottery is beyond the resources of present archaeological knowledge, and it is curious that Dr. Herrmann notices (on p. 36) a total lack of the later red-figured Attic imported vases which are so prominent in South Russia, of a date, that is to say, dangerously near the period of the destruction of Marion. (3) Herr Richter's older settlement can be nothing else than a group of house-foundations of poor construction, discovered at the point specified not in a 'Trummerfeld' but below the surface, else they might have been taken for the remains of a modern Cypriote village denuded of its mud upperwalls. They are fringed by Roman tombs and possibly represent a Roman suburb of Arsinoe, the site of which, by the way, ought to extend considerably farther to the east than it does on Herr Richter's map. (4) Dr. Herrmann does not realize that his conjectural connexion of the two necropoleis skips nimbly over two valleys and a ridge, a full half mile of ground, in which a tomb has never yet been discovered. He is led to it by his misconception of the lie of the necropoleis, which is not east and west, but north and south. (5) This misconception also accounts for his false inference from the numbers assigned to the tombs in the eastern necropolis; the excavation here progressed from north to south. (6) Dr. Herrmann does not tell us how he dates the three classes of tombs. On p. 13 the chronological grouping according to *Anlage* seems spoken of as something independent of grouping by *Inhalt*. It sounds a little odd that whereas the first class lasts into the fifth century, and the second begins in the fourth the two run parallel for a time (p. 9, cf p. 26), but it is perhaps enough to remark that tombs of the first class are found at Poli of all periods down to an extremely late date. (7) It is twice stated, and on the express authority of Herr Richter, that the tombs of class 1 lie without exception (*sämmtlich* p. 8, *ausnahmslos*, p. 11) in the eastern necropoleis, yet on p. 12 some, although comparatively few, are admitted to occur in the western. Here again Dr. Herrmann's exception is better than his rule, for the tombs of this class in the western necropolis probably outnumber those of the other two classes put together. (8) To overturn the last stone of Dr. Herrmann's elaborate construction, it suffices to note that tombs containing black-figured vases of the sixth century, and red-figured of the early part of the fifth, have been found not only in the eastern but also in the western necropolis.

Lack of space forbids us to deal fully with Dr. Herrmann's in many respects valuable account of the Find. It is unsatisfactory to observe that no adequate explanation is given of how the 'precise chronologically distinct groups,' into which it is divided, are arrived at, but that each section begins with an appeal to the history of Cyprus which is found to be mirrored in the contents of the tombs, a procedure savouring of the *a priori* method so disastrously employed at the outset. No sufficient appreciation is shown of the facts that tombs side by side are often (so mixed are the sites) separated by centuries in date, that early tombs were sometimes used again in a late period, and that the work of robbers may introduce confusion. The highly dangerous method of dating from the style of Cypriote pottery and terra-cottas, which often preserve a seemingly primitive crudeness from first to last, is constantly employed. Dr. Herrmann proceeds uniformly by the illustration of his chronological groups in particular tombs, and although many of his instances carry with them their own confirmation of his attribution, there are

others with which the reader might quarrel, and obviously such statements as that the black glazed ware with little impressed patterns begins in the sixth century, that transparent glass is found in fourth century graves, and that Hellenistic Roman tombs contain no imported Greek pottery, need the confirmation of detailed evidence. On the other hand, the profusion and excellence of the pictorial illustration is deserving of all gratitude.

The above criticism, coming from superior local knowledge, may seem harsh and unfair, and it is not to be denied that most of Dr. Herrmann's errors are due rather to the difficulty of his subject and the lack of full and trustworthy information, but it is absolutely necessary that the tangled thread of the history of Cypriote civilization should be no longer and no further complicated by reckless theorizing.

J. A. R. M.

**Naukratis.** Part II. by ERNEST A. GARDNER, with Appendix by F. L. GRIFFITH (Sixth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund). London, 1888. 1p. 92. With 24 Plates.

MR. ERNEST GARDNER, the author of this scholarly record of most carefully-conducted excavations, proceeded to Naukratis at the end of 1885 in company with Mr. Flinders Petrie. After some joint work, Mr. Gardner was left, from 5th January 1886, in sole charge of the excavations; and the nature of his work, including the important discovery of the temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Athenaeus, may be gathered from the following summary of the various chapters of *Naukratis*, II.—

Chap. II. *The Cemetery.* The site is marked by some low mounds to the north of Naukratis. Only a portion of the cemetery, that dating from the later and least prosperous times of the city, has at present been exhumed. Most of the graves discovered are not much earlier than the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, though some are of the fourth century B.C. There was an almost entire absence of sepulchral stelae and tomb-chambers; burials seem to have been prepared for simply by making a new pit to receive the coffin. The terra-cotta coffins were usually plain, but the wood coffins were decorated with pretty terra-cotta ornaments (gorgoneia, griffins: Pl. xvi.) of the fourth and third centuries B.C. In the graves were found an iron comb, a rouge pot, strigils, alabastra, plain bronze mirrors and one mirror case, bone-beads, shells, and numerous small lekythi, one (Pl. xvi. 20) with a polychrome design. In two or three graves terra-cotta statuettes were found.

Chap. III. *Temple of the Dioscuri.* *Circ.* B.C. 450. Built of unbaked mud-brick, covered by a plaster coating. Fragments of stucco from the inner walls of the cella are painted with decorative patterns in red and blue.

Chap. IV. *Temple and Temenos of Aphrodite.* The earliest temple of Aphrodite and the great altar that stood in front of its eastern door were founded upon the hard mud underlying the town of Naukratis. The altar was made of mud-brick walls filled inside with ashes, probably of the victims. Within the temenos were two wells. This first temple was probably built *circ.* B.C. 600. On its destruction a new temple was erected on its walls (*circ.* B.C. 400), and a third temple (*circ.* B.C. 300) afterwards rested upon the second temple.

Chap. V. *Pottery from the Temenos of Aphrodite.* Numerous vases were found,



but all in fragments, which have been most carefully sorted and put together by Mr. Gardner. A careful analysis of the different kinds of pottery found is here given. A good deal is of local manufacture. Mr. Gardner points out that the Greeks of Naukratis, judging from their vase-paintings, did not work solely under Egyptian influence but were also influenced—through the Phoenicians—by Assyria. The influence of Rhodes is also very great. Mr. Gardner assigns most of this pottery to *circ.* B.C. 570. The pottery known as 'Cyrenaic' was found, and is quite distinct in style from the local Naukratite pottery. 'The pottery of Naukratis does not so much represent a stage in [the] transition from Oriental to purely Hellenic form,' but is rather 'the most perfect and complete development of the decorative Oriental style.' (p. 53).

Chap. VI. *Statuettes from the Temenos of Aphrodite.* These, like the vases from the same temenos, had been intentionally broken up. The Cypriote influence is visible in them, and they are interesting as early examples of types afterwards frequently repeated, *e.g.* male figures of the early 'Apollo' or 'Athlete' type, and female figures holding some object (flower, animal &c.) in front of the breast.

Chap. VII. *Temenos of Hera.* Identified by vases inscribed with dedications.

Chap. VIII. *Inscriptions.* Mostly in the Ionic alphabet, and consist chiefly of dedications on vases to Aphrodite (*e.g.* ὁ δαίνα ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ). No. 778 is a dedication to Aphrodite by Rheocus, 'probably the famous early sculptor' of Samos. Eight of the inscriptions are perhaps Lesbian.

Chap. IX. *Conclusion.* Mr. Gardner shows that there was a Greek colony at Naukratis founded before the time of Amasis, perhaps *circ.* B.C. 650. Mr. Gardner further maintains, in opposition to Hirschfeld and Kirchhoff, that certain inscriptions found at Naukratis by Petrie (*Naukratis*, Part I. chap. vii.) are the earliest representative specimens of the Ionic alphabet, dating from the seventh century B.C. when the Greek alphabet was still a new and unfamiliar adaptation from the Phoenician.

Appendix (by Mr. Griffith), 'Egyptological Notes from Naukratis.'

W. W.

**Das Heroon von Gjölbасchi-Trysa.** BENNDORF AND NIEMANN. Vienna, 1889.

THIS costly and elaborate work brings before us the reliefs and details of the Heroon at Trysa, which have now for some years been one of the treasures of the Museum of Vienna. The plates, 34 in number, are executed not by photography but in line-engraving, a process not in favour with archaeologists now, but in this case rendered advisable or necessary by the poor preservation of most of the reliefs. The text is not complete, but contains only descriptions and discussions of some of the reliefs, together with a short but interesting account of the travels of Schönborn, the discoverer of the tomb. Prof. Benndorf's archaeological account of the friezes is at once learned and lucid. He begins with the royal groups of persons over the gate without and with the dwarves who stand over the gate within; *à propos* of the latter we have a full discussion of the history of the god Besa by J. Krall. Next is discussed the very interesting scene of the slaughter of the Suitors by Odysseus and Telemachus, and its close correspondence with the descriptions of the *Odyssey* is clearly brought out. Then we have a detailed discussion of the frieze representing a battle raging over a plain bounded by ships on one side and

a beleaguered city on the other ; beyond the city is a conflict between Greeks and Amazons. Prof. Benndorf is inclined to see in the whole a representation of the great siege of Ilium, mainly inspired by the Aethiopis, in which the advent of the Amazons as allies of the Trojans and the death of the Queen Penthesileia by the hand of Achilles was narrated. The fate of Thersites was connected with that of Penthesileia in legend, and Benndorf identifies with that ugliest of the Greeks a bald-headed figure who appears on the relief near the ships. This whole explanation must however be considered as uncertain. Beundorf says that he himself hesitated long before accepting it, and it seems possible that he would not have received it if he had allowed greater weight to the analogy of the well-known Nereid monument in which the besieged city seems clearly to be in or near Lycia. It may be only a local siege which is recorded at Trysa. For the explanation of the numerous other scenes of these reliefs we must wait until the rest of the text appears. In these days of hasty writing and cheap illustrations, books like that under notice do good service in keeping up an ideal of archaeological dissertation.

P. G.

**Le Cabinet des Antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale.** ERNEST BABELON. Ser. 1,2. Paris, 1887-8.

THIS is an *édition de luxe*, in which the most remarkable of the art treasures of the Bibliothèque at Paris are reproduced in plates executed by the most skilful processes known in France, in heliogravures (some of which by a new process are coloured), coloured lithographs and engravings. The text is by M. Babelon, *attaché* of the museum. Among the works figured in the first two issues are the great cameo of Tiberius (pl. 1), the archaic kylix of Arcesilas (pl. 12) and the (so-called) Weber head (pl. 20) formerly supposed to belong to a pediment of the Parthenon. We have but one fault to find, but that fault is serious. The order of the representations is quite fortuitous, works ancient, mediaeval and modern being mingled in dire confusion. This fact goes far to destroy the scientific value of the work, and injures it even from the drawing-room-table point of view.

P. G.

**Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Munzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums.** F. IMHOOF-BLUMER and O. KELLER. Leipzig, 1889.

By collecting in twenty-six quarto plates, admirably executed in photography, all important representations of animals and plants to be found on ancient coins and gems, the compilers of this work have rendered excellent service. They have thus made a sort of dictionary, which will greatly abridge the labours of many investigators for the future, through the perfect ordering of a province of research. Imhoof's work on the coins is characterized by his usual accuracy and comprehensiveness: the gems could scarcely be surveyed in the same methodical way; yet they seem to be successfully treated. The text contains only descriptions of the 1352 monuments figured in the plates.

P. G.

**Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder.** THEODOR SCHREIBER. Leipzig, 1889.  
Erste Lieferung.

THIS is the beginning of a most important work undertaken by Dr. Schreiber, supported by the Saxon Ministerium des Cultus. Few classes of monuments of antiquity are less accessible than these reliefs, for which when published we have to trust to drawings such as those of Zoega and Clarac: and yet they are of the greatest importance, not only for the history of myths in antiquity, but also for the study of the development of sculpture and painting in later Hellas. The present part includes no text, but contains ten excellent plates in heliogravure by Dujardin of reliefs at Vienna and in the Palazzo Spada at Rome. Each plate is accompanied by a sketch indicating which parts of the sculpture are restorations, an admirable plan which cannot be too strongly recommended to future editors. Dr. Schreiber's text, when it appears, must needs be of an interest quite unusual: meantime we would commend this great work to the notice of archaeologists and artists.

P. G.

**Wiener Vorlegeblätter für archäologische Uebungen.** 1888. OTTO BENNDORF. Vienna, 1889.

THE great value of the Vienna *Vorlegeblätter* to teachers and students of ancient vases and painting was proved by the rapidity with which the first edition was disposed of: in fact, without them, it is impossible to study Greek vases except in a museum or an extensive archaeological library. The second edition differs from the first in various ways, each set is bound in a cover and can be purchased apart, and the arrangement is altered. The present issue comprises outline drawings of the principal works of the earlier black-figured potters down to Exekias (pls. 1-7), including the wonderful François vase of Florence; Greek and Roman representatives of marriage ceremonies (pls. 8, 9); and a collection of the proposed restorations of the Iliupersis painted at Delphi by Polygnotus (pls. 10-12). Some of these last were scarcely worthy of record or perpetuation.

Like all of the important German archaeological publications, this work is carried out at the cost of a public body,—the Austrian Ministry of Cultus and Education.

P. G.

**P. Paris—la Sculpture Antique.** Paris, 1888.

THIS is the first small hand-book which attempts to give in a concise and popular form the results of recent excavation and research. Its illustrations are admirable, many of them the best that have ever appeared on such a scale: but there are one or two exceptions; fig. 53 gives hardly any notion of its original, and fig. 69 is wrongly restored. The text is mostly concerned with Greek art; and in this the earlier periods are the most fully treated. The development of types is followed, but no attempt is made to mark distinctions, local or other, among archaic works, even where this is possible. A clear and accurate statement of the evidence of literature and of excavation would have been more valuable to the elementary student than many of the generalities here included. But in spite of all defects, the merits of the work will make it a great acquisition to all students of sculpture. We understand that Miss Harrison will edit an English translation.

E. A. G.

**Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum:—Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, &c.** By BARCLAY V. HEAD, D.C.L., Ph.D. edited by R. S. POOLE, LL.D. London, 1889. 8vo.

A VALUABLE contribution to the British Museum Catalogue, giving full scope for Mr. Head's well-known mastery in dealing with long and uniform series of coins, such as those of Boeotia, Attica and Ephesus. The work is very fully illustrated by thirty-nine autotype plates, and Mr. Head has written a most interesting Introduction (pp. xvi—lxviii) which may here be, in part, summarized. The difficulty of arranging the Corinthian coinage chronologically arises from the uniformity of its type (Pegasus and the head of Pallas) throughout the fifth, fourth and third centuries. Period I. B.C. 650—500. Corinth, as a great trading city, doubtless began to coin early like Athens and Aegina, and its first coinage (*obv.* Pegasus, *rev.* Aeginetan incuse) perhaps belongs to the time of Cypselus. This is succeeded about the beginning of the sixth century by coins of flat fabric with the Swastika pattern—found especially on vases of the same century—on the reverse. The weight-standard of Corinth is the Euboic, but the stater (weight 135 grains) is divided by three and not by two. It is noteworthy that the Aeginetan half-stater or drachm of forty-eight grains was practically interchangeable with the Corinthian third-stater or drachm of forty-five grains. Period II. B.C. 500—431. The introduction of Pallas as a type takes place, to judge by style, about 500. Period B.C. 431—400 is the period of early fine art. Period IV. B.C. 400—338. Corinth is now the chief silver-coining state in Greece and her staters are abundant. The female head—that of Aphrodite and perhaps of some other goddesses—on the drachms and half-drachms is treated with much variety. The staters bear a symbol, probably a magistrate's signet. Period V. B.C. 400—243. Initials begin to appear as well as symbols. As the symbol is often varied while the initial remains constant, it may be inferred that 'the magistrate who signs his name is the superior magistrate and that the symbol...stands for mint-officials of lower rank who were replaced at frequent intervals.' The coins of this period are catalogued alphabetically, but in the Introduction (p. xxv. ff.) Mr. Head proposes a chronological arrangement. In B.C. 243 Corinth was freed from Macedonian rule by Aratus, and it then probably ceased to strike coins except those of the Achaean Federal type. The bronze coinage of Corinth—like that of Athens—begins about B.C. 400. Of Corinth as a Roman Colony, from B.C. 46 to the time of Galba, there is a series of bronze coins bearing the name of Duoviri, the chief annual magistrates of the place. These names have often been read erroneously on badly-preserved coins, and some, even after Mr. Head's corrections, remain doubtful. The position of the Duoviri is discussed, p. xxviii. ff. The exceptionally interesting Imperial Coinage of Corinth (cp. Imhoof and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*) ends in the time of Geta. The second part of the Introduction deals with the money of the colonies of Corinth, and of those localities that for commercial reasons adopted the Corinthian coin-types.

W. W.

**The 'Horsemen' of Tarentum.** A. J. EVANS. London, 1889.

THIS paper (of 242 pp. and 11 plates) is mostly a reprint from the *Numismatic Chronicle*. We briefly notice it, contrary to our custom in such cases, on account

of its very great importance. The 'Horsemen' are the well-known staters of Tarentum, bearing a horseman as type. The abundant coinage of Tarentum has never hitherto been classed in a satisfactory way. Mr. Evans has succeeded in so interweaving it with the history of the city, and so closely fixing the dates of its issues by the study of types, inscriptions, and the evidence of finds, that he has produced what must be regarded as a grammar of Tarentine archaeology. It is the first time, if we exclude Rome, that the numismatic history of an Italian city has been thoroughly and scientifically worked out, but no doubt now other cities will follow. From the general archaeological point of view, perhaps the most important results of the work are two. First we are now furnished with a series of representations of the horse reaching in uninterrupted succession from the Persian wars to the time of Hannibal, each specimen dated within narrow limits, and hundreds of them of admirable design. Secondly, Mr. Evans maintains, and appears to prove, that the great majority of the coins of Tarentum are signed by the artists who made the dies for them: thus our list of Greek artists will be greatly lengthened.

P. G.

(1.) **Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaironeia**, von DR. GEORG BUSOLT. 2 Teil.

(2.) **Griechische Geschichte**, von ADOLPH HOLM. 2ter Band.

THOSE who are acquainted with the first instalment of Dr. Busolt's learned work will welcome heartily this second part, in which they will find all the difficult questions connected with the Persian Wars and the Athenian supremacy discussed carefully and impartially in the light of all the most recent results of literary criticism and of archaeological research.

To take one instance out of many that might illustrate the use Dr. Busolt makes of archaeological discoveries: we may notice that *à propos* of the appeal made by Arkesilaos of Cyrene to the Samians for help against Persia, he points to the measure by which, in the middle of the fifth century, the Cyreneans abandoned the Euboic for the Rhodian standard of coinage, and facilitated thereby their trade relations with Samos. The use of archaeological material by Dr. Busolt is of importance in the part of his history which treats of Sicilian affairs, and yet more so in that which describes the subsequent relations of Athens with her allies and tributaries. In the use of the literary sources Dr. Busolt has no sympathy with any attempts to diminish the authority of Herodotus. He has not much trust in statements which are supposed to come from Ephorus, and does not follow the chronology of Diodorus. Among the points as to which Busolt's insight or his caution leads him to differ from other modern historians may be remarked his opinion as to the settlement of Messenians in Naupactus by Talmides after his expedition round the Peloponnesus, which he regards as a pure fiction of Ephorus; his refusal to allow the existence of νομοφύλακες as a part of the Athenian constitution before the Macedonian supremacy; and his defence of the character of Aspasia, the wife of Pericles. Dr. Busolt has, we may remark, entirely rearranged the chronological sequence of events for a great part of the Pentacontetia. It is to be regretted that the arrangement of the work,—with digressions on sources prefixed to each section and copious foot-notes—is not such as to make reference always easy.

Dr. Holm's work was written after Busolt's, to which he often refers, and the results of which, as to chronology and in the main as to the value of authorities, he generally adopts. Yet the existence of Busolt's history by no means diminishes the value of Holm's, which appeals to a larger public and has many merits peculiar to itself. Learned without a touch of pedantry, imaginative without any capricious fancy, Holm uses his archaeological knowledge to bring before his eyes and those of his readers a vivid picture of the times he is describing, so that with him, a list *e.g.* of the allies and subjects of Athens becomes as full of character and colour as the Homeric catalogue. Some of his sketches of character (as that of Cleomenes) are powerful and terse. His picture of life in Periclean Athens is as bright as his sketch in the preceding volume of the pursuits of those who dwelt around the palaces of Mycene and Tiryns. The social side of history is that in which he most excels, but he also pays careful attention to the development of political institutions, and makes some original and suggestive remarks as to the practical working of some measures, such as the choice of archons by lot. (The scope allowed for manipulation is not always considered). In his account of the Athenian democracy, he lays especial stress on the heavy responsibility incurred by the proposer of any change. He examines carefully the relations of Athens to the cities of her empire in the light of the inscriptions and of coins, and shows the great diversity that prevailed among those relations, and some of the curious anomalies to be found, such as the extremely small amount of tribute paid by some important cities. In spite of his admiration for the Athenian spirit and his sympathy with the aims of Pericles, he points out the fact—so strangely slurred over by Grote—of the inferiority of Athens to many other states as an abode of freedom of thought and toleration of speculative originality. The narrative and the disquisitions are frequently enlivened and enriched by apt illustrations from modern history and politics, without ever making us feel that modern politics or party prejudices are being imported into ancient history. We hope that this book will soon be translated into English, as it would form an excellent text-book for our universities and public schools.

Since the above notice was written, we have received the last portion of the second volume of Holm's work, which brings us down to the restoration of the Athenian democracy in 403. This part is certainly not inferior, either in careful work, or in sustained interest, to any of the preceding. In treating of so well-worn a subject as the state of culture in Athens during the latter portion of the fifth century, our author throws fresh light upon it by distinguishing the streams of influence from at least six different regions that met in Athens, some of which found less free scope there than elsewhere. His use of widely scattered material, both archaeological and literary, tends here to counteract the over-centralizing influence of writers to whom Athens is the culminating point of all that is worthy in Greek life. Among the special points of interest in these chapters we would note the tendency of Pericles to Ionianism in habits and thought, the probable collusion between Demosthenes and Cleon in the affair of Sphacteria, the comparative easiness of the terms finally imposed by Sparta on Athens, the reaction of natural feeling against the artificiality of the newer culture, shown at the restoration of the democracy, the attitude of the comic writers towards older and newer developments of the national mind,—and the fallacy of taking, as Curtius seems sometimes inclined to do, the aristocratic party in Athens as representing

liberal education, the democratic as that of the rude and vulgar. Dr. Holm esteems highly the value of Xenophon as an authority, and does not regard him as a partial witness against the democracy. In those parts where topographical knowledge is of service, Dr. Holm's studies make his work more valuable. This applies especially to the part that treats of Sicily.

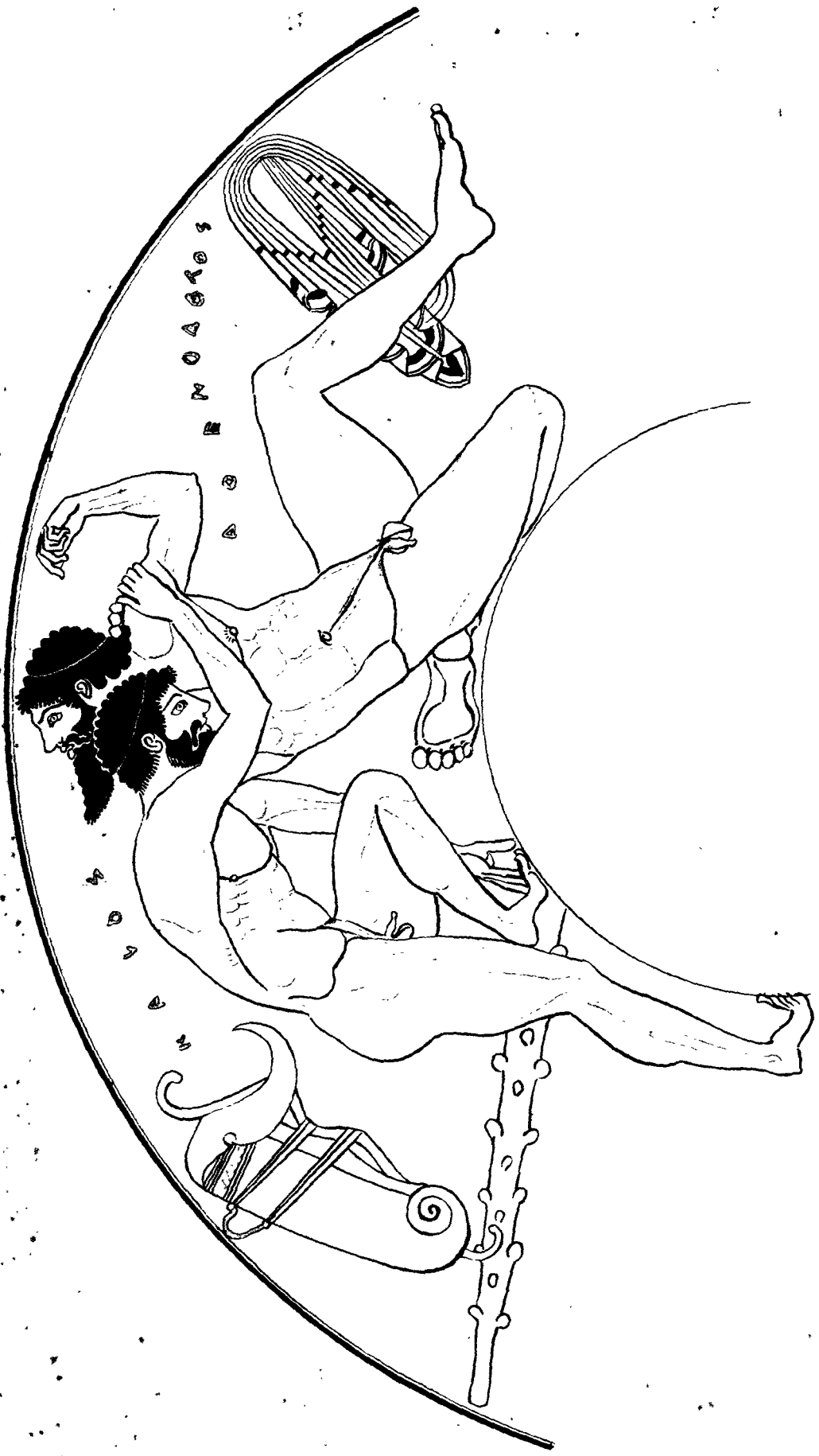
A. G.

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OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS.







FRAGMENTS FROM THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS



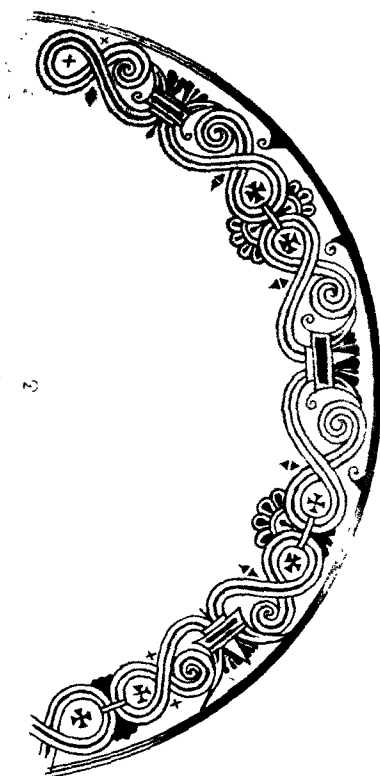




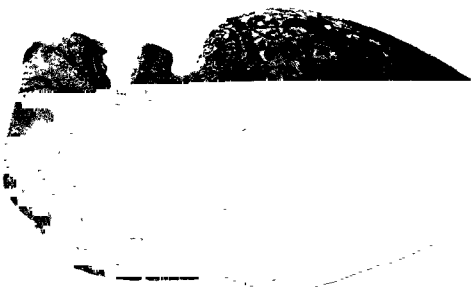
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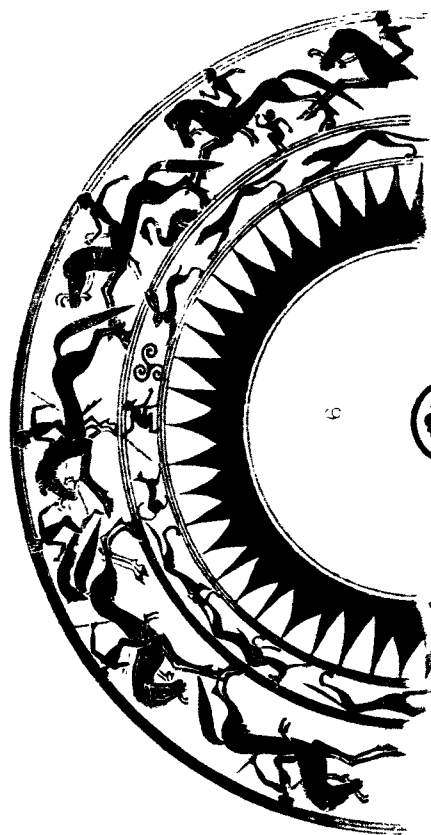
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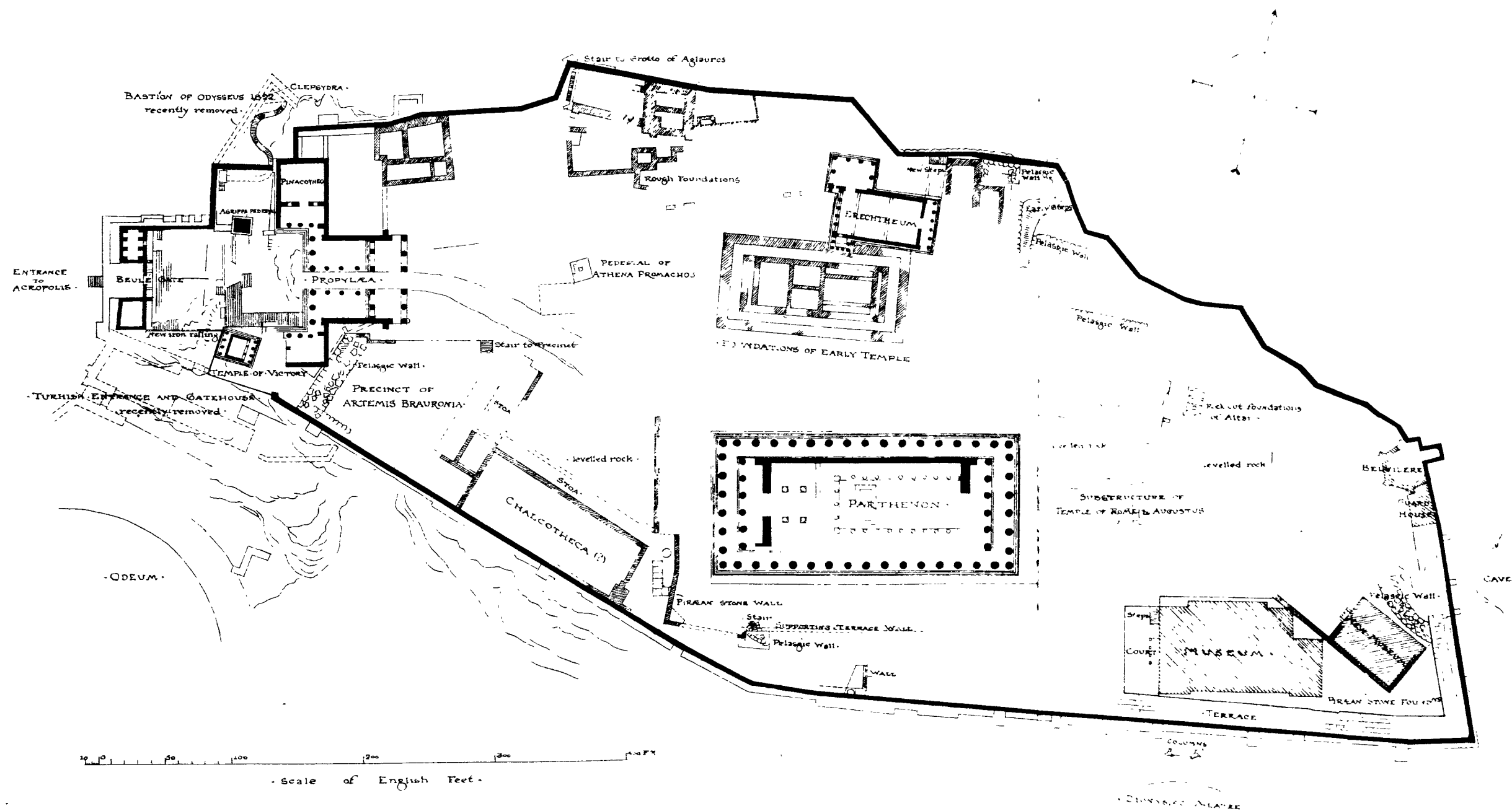




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